

THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

Notes of Recent Exposition.

Is original sin a fact, or have the theologians hitherto been altogether wrong about it? Professor ROYCE says that the theologians have been wrong about it, but that original sin is a fact.

Professor ROYCE delivered a course of lectures at the Lowell Institute in Boston, and at Manchester College, Oxford, on *The Problem of Christianity*. They have now been published by Messrs. Macmillan in two highly attractive volumes (15s. net). The lectures are obviously untheological. They are the openly avowed interpretation of a philosopher; and, as is the way with philosophers, there runs through them a scarcely concealed determination to criticise the theological interpretation of life. It is no surprise, therefore, to find that Professor ROYCE rejects the theological theory of original sin. The surprise is that he accepts original sin as a fact.

He criticises the theological statement of original sin from Paul downwards. Paul himself misunderstood it. 'His Rabbinic lore, and his habits of interpreting tradition, troubled his speech.' The consequence is that 'technical problems regarding original sin, predestination, and related topics have come to occupy so large a place in the history of theology, that, to many minds, Paul's own report of personal experience, and his statements about plain facts of human

nature, have been lost to sight (so far as concerns the idea of the moral burden of the individual) in a maze of controversial complications.' The consequence is that 'to numerous modern minds the whole idea of the moral burden of the individual seems to be an invention of theologians, and to possess little or no religious importance.'

Professor ROYCE believes that that popular opinion—and it is pretty popular to-day—is a profoundly mistaken one. The theologians may have missed the meaning of it. Professor ROYCE is very sure that they *have*, right down the history of Christianity; but he is just as sure that what they have been trying to interpret is a fact. When Paul set himself to interpret what he saw, he got entangled in the meshes of Rabbinism; but what he saw he saw 'with tragic clearness.' 'He grasped the essential meaning of the moral burden of the individual with a perfectly straightforward veracity of understanding.'

The theologians would have strangled the idea of the burden of original sin if it had not been a fact of human experience, growing more and more real through all the ages of Christianity. The traditional technicalities have obscured it, but they have not been able to affect its deeper meaning or its practical significance. To-day it is in closer touch with life than ever.

What is the fact? It is that there are, deep-seated in human nature, many tendencies which our mature moral consciousness views as evil. And these tendencies 'have a basis in qualities that are transmitted by heredity.' Professor ROYCE finds the best summary of these tendencies and their evil results in the opening chapters of the Epistle to the Romans. He does not say that the vices there exposed are to be found in modern life, at least in equal glare of vileness. He is none of those who call Christianity a moral failure. What he finds is that as society reaches better manners, the conscience of the individual becomes more sensitive, and the burden of guilt, though it may be much less in the mass, is felt by the individual to be as heavy as ever.

And this burden is felt by the individual, not as the burden of his own sin only, but as a social burden. As the individual conscience becomes more sensitive, it becomes more sensitive to the sin of the community. And in this way original sin is felt more than ever as a fact. Its pressure is on the individual first. For how otherwise can he account for the evil tendencies he finds in himself? And then it is felt as a social fact. And he whose conscience has been trained by these centuries of Christian teaching cries out with Isaiah, 'I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips,' feeling the double burden, not less than Isaiah because the times are fairer, but more because the conscience is more sensitive and the sense of solidarity is more pronounced.

In an article in *The British Friend* for April, Dr. Rendel HARRIS announces the discovery, in a text of the Acts of the Apostles, of the author's own name. The name is Luke. That is now a surprise to scarcely any one. A few years ago it would have been a surprise to very many.

But for the last few years the main current of recent criticism has been running in favour of a belief in the unity and authenticity of the Lucan

writings. 'Thanks to the acuteness of Ramsay's archæological and historical criticism (and we may add, in spite of its occasional excesses), taken along with the linguistic researches of Hawkins, the studies in medical language of Hobart (again a case often spoiled by the worst extravagances), and finally, the weighty and apparently unanswerable criticisms of Harnack (himself a convert from very different views of the composition of the Lucan writings), we are able to affirm St. Luke's rights over the works commonly attributed to him with an emphasis that has probably not been laid upon them since their first publication.'

The estimate of recent criticism just quoted is due to Dr. Rendel HARRIS. He makes it as he leads up to the announcement of his discovery. For his discovery is no ordinary event, and to appreciate its significance we must have some knowledge of what criticism has had to pass through. Two serious difficulties have had to be encountered—one, the possibility of a double authorship, due to the presence of the 'We-Sections'; the other, the possibility of a double text, due to the widely divergent forms in which the text of the Acts has come down to us.

The existence in the Acts of the Apostles of the 'We-Sections' seemed to say that the real composer of the book was not Luke, but a later writer who had access to notes of travel which Luke had written down. If that opinion had finally prevailed, the Acts would have been a much later book than had commonly been supposed, and there would have been a corresponding reaction upon the date of the Third Gospel. It has been found impossible to detach the 'We-Sections' from the rest of the book. In language and style, in atmosphere and outlook, the book is a unity. If the 'We-Sections' are the work of Luke, the whole book is his work.

The difficulty of a double text is greater. It is so great that the late Professor BLASS felt himself obliged to assume that Luke had issued two

separate editions of the Acts in his own lifetime. The one text, it was believed, had circulated chiefly in the East, the other in the West. The Western text was fuller than the Eastern. Dr. Rendel HARRIS was able to show that the fuller Western text, which had been called Western simply because it was found in Latin and Græco-Latin manuscripts, was just as widely diffused in the Far East as in the Near West. And among the items of his proof was an Armenian commentary on the Acts in which the text used by the commentator was the second and more expanded text called Western.

Then came the discovery. Let us give it in the words of the discoverer himself: 'In Acts xx. 13, it is clear that we are either at the beginning of a "We-Section," or in the heart of one. The seventh verse of the chapter brought Paul and his companions (including the editorial "We") to Troas; the thirteenth verse describes the departure from Troas, "We" going by sea, and Paul going overland to Assos for reasons not specified. Now the Armenian commentator takes up the thread of the discourse in the words:

"But Luke and those who were with me went on board," instead of the conventional

"But we went before to the ships," etc.

'It only requires a microscopic change to bring out the statement, "But *I*, Luke, and those who who were with me, went on board." This, then, appears to have been the original "Western" reading; not to be neglected because it happens to be preserved only in an Armenian Catena on the Acts.'

Is it the original reading? Dr. Rendel HARRIS does not say so yet. 'It would be premature to say. We may, however, say this much, that if it is the original reading, we have the Lucan authorship attested by the composer himself; if it is a secondary reading, then, even if we may not incorporate it in our New Testament, we are entitled to say that the problem of the "We-Sections" had already been solved by a writer in the second

century, even if he did not realise all the difficulties into which the hypothesis of Lucan authorship would plunge the critics of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.'

One of the least observed of our Lord's parables is that little parable of the Two Kings which is found only in the Gospel according to Luke. It is little observed for two reasons. One reason is that its object has never yet, after all the history of Christianity, been rightly recognized. The other is that the most important phrase in it has been mistranslated and misunderstood.

Its object is to show us how great is God's respect for the human will. We have never recognized that yet. It is a weakness of evangelical preaching that it takes the human will for granted. The offer is salvation. The conditions are easy. Evangelical preaching is never weary of showing us how easy the conditions are. It is their ridiculous simplicity, we are told, that makes their difficulty. 'Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye, buy, and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price.' 'Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.' And never for a moment is this parable remembered, although the point of it is that the conditions of salvation are so difficult that we are recommended to sit down first and count the cost.

The parable is spoken for no other purpose than to warn us against hastily resolving to follow Christ. There is no other purpose in it. And the parable is not alone. 'I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest,' said a certain man who encountered Him on the way. He looked at him for a moment: 'The foxes have holes, and the birds of the heaven have nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head.'

It does not mean that the conditions are not

simple. It means that they are not so thoughtlessly easy as popular evangelism has been wont to make them. It means that one of the conditions is the deliberate consent of the will. For that is the mark of manhood. Without the will we are not men. And every time we think that God is ready to have us with a rush, we should remember the words of John the Baptist, that He 'is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham,' that if He simply desired to people heaven without considering whether it is a willing people or not, He has all the omnipotence that is necessary.

The other reason why the parable of the Two Kings is little observed is that the most important phrase in it is mistranslated or misunderstood. This is the parable: 'Or what king, as he goeth to encounter another king in war, will not sit down first and take counsel whether he is able with ten thousand to meet him that cometh against him with twenty thousand? Or else, while the other is yet a great way off, he sendeth an ambassage, and asketh conditions of peace' (Lk 14^{31, 32}).

The mistranslated phrase is the last: 'and asketh conditions of peace.' Mr. St. John THACKERAY discusses the text and the translation of that phrase in *The Journal of Theological Studies* for April. The text is somewhat uncertain because of the variation in the manuscripts as to the preposition (εἰς or πρὸς) or article and preposition combined (τὰ εἰς or τὰ πρὸς) which is translated 'conditions.' As to the word translated 'peace' (εἰρήνην) there is no variation in the manuscripts.

And that is well, because it is the mistranslation of the word translated 'peace' that has made all the misunderstanding. If we had to do with Greek alone there would be no doubt about the translation. In Greek the word means 'peace.' But in Hebrew the word means much more frequently 'welfare.' It was the ordinary form of salutation. 'Peace!'—it was our 'How d'ye do?'

So if Luke was imitating the Septuagint, and it is very likely indeed that he was, he would mean that the king with the weaker army sends to the king with the stronger and asks after his health.

Does that not seem likely? Scarcely, under the circumstances. We read in the *Times* last autumn that 'Kiamil Pasha, the Grand Vizier of Turkey, has asked King Ferdinand to agree to a cessation of hostilities with a view to the direct discussion of the preliminaries of peace'; and we understood that, in the circumstances, that was the proper thing for the Grand Vizier of Turkey to do. But we should have been surprised if we had read, as Mr. THACKERAY humorously puts it, 'that the Sultan or his ministers had sent to beleaguered Adrianople or Kirk Kilisse to make kind enquiries after the health of his Majesty of Bulgaria.'

But where royalty was concerned the Semitic phrase acquired a special connotation. Turn to the Old Testament. In the eighth chapter of the Second Book of Samuel we read of a series of victories which King David celebrated over various enemies. He defeated the Philistines and Moabites; he smote Hadadezer, son of Rehob, king of Zobah; and when the Syrians of Damascus came to the aid of Hadadezer they met the same fate.

Then the narrative proceeds: 'And when Toi king of Hamath heard that David had smitten all the host of Hadadezer, then Toi sent Joram, his son unto king David, to salute him, and to bless him, because he had fought against Hadadezer and smitten him: for Hadadezer had wars with Toi. And Joram brought with him vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and vessels of brass: these also did king David dedicate unto the Lord, with the silver and gold that he dedicated of all the nations which he subdued.'

The phrase rendered in the Revised Version, 'and to salute him,' is given in the margin, 'ask,

him of his welfare.' And the meaning seems to be no more than that Toi congratulated David upon his victories over foes that were common to both. But when the versions are examined with the care spent upon them by Mr. THACKERAY, it becomes manifest that King Toi did much more than that. In short, the phrase is the usual courteous expression for an act of submission. When Toi 'saluted' David he recognized his suzerainty, as Dr. CHEYNE shows in his article on 'Toi' in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*; when he 'blessed' him he bowed the knee to him in absolute surrender.

Now Mr. THACKERAY believes that this narrative is the very source of the parable. The 'two kings' referred to by our Lord are David and Toi. Mr. THACKERAY brings forward many illustrations

from other Semitic sources. But this is enough. We may take it as established that when Jesus recalled the well-known case of the one king who sent an embassy to another, He did not say that the embassy was to ask conditions of peace or even to inquire after the king's welfare, but to tender complete submission. And this is the only translation that agrees with the context. The words which follow the parable are: 'So therefore every one of you who renounceth not (saith not farewell to) all his possessions, cannot be my disciple.' We must not lay stress on the details of a parable. But that word 'therefore' binds the moral closely to the parable. Mr. THACKERAY believes that our Lord intended His hearers to recall the fact that Toi in saluting David surrendered not only his vessels of gold, silver, and brass, but also his independence.

Days of the Son of Man.

BY THE REV. EDWARD W. WINSTANLEY, D.D., WOLVERHAMPTON.

'Days will come, when ye shall desire to see one of the days of the Son of man, and ye shall not see it.'—LUKE xvii. 22.

THESE words seem to form one of the most studiously avoided texts in all the Gospels: they constitute a puzzle for the exegete, and for homiletical handling they present great difficulties.

Yet because of the mystery of their meaning, they exert a peculiar fascination upon the student of the sayings of the Lord Jesus.

The connexion and interpretation of the statement are alike subjects of dispute and disagreement, and it must, we think, be admitted that no certain explanation has yet been discovered and perhaps no sure solution will ever be forthcoming. However, a little consideration may serve to throw some light upon meanings that are possible, and it will not be altogether without profit to see if any practical application of the words reported of our Lord can be made for our own conditions and needs.

I. Let us examine for a moment the context in which the saying in question lies embedded. It is

found almost at the opening of what can only be termed an apocalyptic section or collection of utterances concerning a future catastrophe, which is itself inserted in the so-called 'great interpolation' of this evangelist, and the verse is entirely peculiar to his record.

At the outset the definite statement is made that this revelation from the Lord's lips was uttered in response to a direct question on the part of the Pharisees, 'When does the Kingdom of God?'—which had evidently formed the burden of the message of Jesus—'come?'

And the immediate answer is that much discussed, and in the last portion obscure, saying that it 'comes not with observation,' its advent cannot be calculated from external signs; nor is its manifestation local, that men may hurry thereto, 'for, behold, the kingdom of God is in your midst' (I give an ambiguous rendering of ἐντὸς ὑμῶν purposely). It is to be remarked that the opening and close of the reply of the Master are alike unique, confined to this report from the third evangelist.

Material is, afterwards afforded which contains parallels, into whose details we must forbear to enter now, in the so-called eschatological chapter of Matthew, and, like that complex discourse, it is stated to have been uttered 'unto the disciples,' as if in pursuance of the subject with the circle of His intimates when the Pharisaic inquirers—whether honest or with crafty intention does not matter here—had turned away baffled. And our text, cryptic and mysterious, serves as the opening declaration (cf. Apoc. Ezra 13^{51f.}).

II. Before we mention three or four meanings which appear to demand recognition, let us just look at the nature of the 'revelation' which, according to the transmission of the Lucan record, follows our text. First, there is an echo of the warning which appears in the Marcan apocalyptic chapter (13²¹; cf. Mt 24^{23f.}, expanded ^{25f.}), concerning the uprising of Messianic pretenders, who would but bring grievous disappointment to their deluded followers (17²³). Then, apparently from the discourse material, utilized alike by our first and third evangelists, we have the simile of the lightning to intimate the world-wide and momentary manifestation of 'the day' (if that expression be original here), or, in Matthean terms, the 'presence' of the Son of man. Upon this there ensues, after an apparently intrusive and secondary prediction of suffering contained in Luke alone (17²⁵), the statement that the coming situation will constitute an exact parallel with that familiarly known from sacred story in the period of the Flood, 'the days of Noah,' and on the occasion of the overwhelming of Sodom, 'the days of Lot': 'after the same manner shall it be in the day that the Son of man is revealed' (17³⁰; cf. Mt 24^{37, 39}). The apocalyptic matter is then brought to a close by the narrating of a forecast of the consequences involved in the dramatic suddenness 'in that day' or 'night' of the separation of men or women, whether for acceptance or for rejection (17^{31ff.}; cf. Mt 24^{40f.}).

Furthermore, before giving interpretations which seem to be worthy of consideration, the predominance of the future tense in the context ought to be noticed. The present, whether of mental impression or of prophetic realization, is only used in the Pharisees' question (17²⁰), in the Lord's statement about the Kingdom (17²¹), and concerning the manifestation of the Son of man (17³⁰). Otherwise, all is related directly to the time

to come (contrast 10^{28f.}, Mt 13^{16f.}, of the blessedness of the present vision of the disciples).

III. Now let us suppose the saying to be authentic, that is, a genuinely dominical word.

(a) 1. First, a possible interpretation is suggested by the introductory words of the statement: 'days will come.' Thus the Lord spoke, according to all the Synoptic records, most probably of Himself as being like unto a bridegroom whom his friends would mourn, when he had been violently withdrawn from them (Mk 2²⁰, Mt 9¹⁵, Lk 5³⁵). This veiled prediction of gloom and sadness for His close associates must belong to a relatively late period of the ministry of Jesus, when a fatal conclusion to His activities was clearly foreseen, and it may find a parallel in the reported word at Bethany concerning His burial (Mk 14⁸, Mt 26¹²).

Can our text, then, be accepted as indeed a unique and indirect prophecy of passion and death? Can it imply in like manner that the earthly presence of the departed Master will be vainly desired by devoted disciples in days to come? We apprehend that this would involve a meaning even more strained than to take the Kingdom's presence in the previous verse as signifying the terrestrial activity of Jesus and His little band of faithful ones.

2. Again, there is a broad tendency to suppose our words to intimate that, owing to a developing conviction on our Lord's part that the delay of His manifestation would be prolonged, He desired to afford strong encouragement to His disciples, so as to stiffen their faith and strengthen their hope in the waiting-time which would bring gloomy reaction and a pining desire to perceive some promise of their coming vindication. Under such conditions the danger of following some false claimant to Messiahship would have to be overcome by the recollection of a previous warning.

This interpretation would assume that a growing disillusionment and an increasing assurance of approaching death had convinced the Master that the time for the establishment of the divine Kingdom, and consequently for His own glorious self-revelation, was far from ripe. But this would seem to be in direct contradiction to the prevailing, and we can hardly deem other than authentic, expectation that the emergence of the new age would be within the generation of His contemporaries. Perhaps for this reason the compiler of the first Gospel, if he knew our text, found it out of

harmony with current Christian hopes—as the ‘little apocalypse’ chapter testifies—and not in accord with other traditional words of Jesus, and therefore omitted it.

3. But, thirdly, let us assume that these peculiar sayings about the Kingdom and the Son of man are alike fragments of an authentic tradition, not necessarily immediately connected together as at present, but related in meaning and original intention.

The Kingdom will appear in the near future, and that instantly, universally, simultaneously, none will be able to carry the news of its appearing; it will be known to all for bliss or woe at once.

So, too, with the Son of man; no pining for ‘days’ from which the signs of His actual arrival may be calculated in order to fan afresh the flame of dying hopes will be needful. For the ‘days of Messiah,’ as they formed the objective of current popular expectation, will never come, in their stair-like apocalyptic development and in their extending and increasing clearness; but ere men surmise it, like lightning flash or unlooked-for doom, the Son of man will be revealed. And His will be no locally limited appearance, any more than that of the Kingdom. No messengers, indeed, will then be required to herald His unmistakable advent; and yet our Lord acknowledged clearly His complete ignorance of the exact time of that ‘day’ (Mk 13³², Mt 24³⁶; cf. Lk 12^{40, 46}).

It may be that these sayings, now transmitted so approximately, resemble the boulders strewn by the ice-tongue from the North and West along our Midland ridges, near by one another now, but having their origin upon the sides of far distant mountains. In like manner these words of our Lord, possibly arising from quite different occasions, are brought together into one companionship to teach the imminence and also the world-wide suddenness of the divine-human manifestation. One can scarcely suppose that our text would have a directly opposite meaning to that of the utterances which surround it, or presume the connexion to be due to the total misunderstanding on the part of the evangelist. Nor could ‘not seeing’ be applied to exclusion from the glory of the Kingdom, if the words were addressed, as we are told, ‘to the disciples.’

(δ) But what if the verse is genuine and original in the Gospel of St. Luke, yet unauthentic in respect of coming from the Master’s lips? Brief

reference must be made to two interpretations from this standpoint, because it seems to represent the critical view prevalent to-day.

1. The one looks at our text in this manner. The initial flaming hope of the speedy return in glory of the exalted Lord is dying down, and men are longing to catch the sound of His coming, to perceive some preliminary sign, that the joy of approaching vindication may be assured. The verse would then be a transcript from experience thrown back into the reported speech of Jesus; it would reflect the temperament of the expectant watchers in the primitive communities, and the words of foretelling in the mouth of the incarnate Lord would be recorded for their consolation; because He surely must have been aware of the period of patient waiting which was to come. He certainly foresaw the peril of widely spread despair. The adaptation and incorporation of some such saying, perhaps from floating tradition, would serve to allay unhealthy excitement and feverish anxiety at the time of the compilation of the narrative. The faithful had to realize, in the Master’s spirit, that it was not for them ‘to know times or seasons’ (Ac 1⁶).

2. Another mode of interpreting which demands notice is that which would regard our text and the preceding word, applied to the inwardness of the Kingdom, as alike indicative of a strain of mysticism in the nature of the third evangelist, related to that traceable in his master St. Paul, and tending towards the almost complete transformation into the present, internal, and yet continuous experience of the Kingdom of the coming of the Logos-Spirit which characterizes the Fourth Gospel’s reflexion upon the historic life. This is indeed, according to the opinion of some scholars, the significance which our Lord Himself actually attached to the sayings. No outward sounds or signs betoken the presence of the rule of God, no external vision marks the nearness of the Son of man in spiritual advent to His own.

If the verse be susceptible of such an interpretation, it would contain a protest against the craving for outward tokens, and emphasize the individual spirit-life in union with God ‘in Christ,’ implying that the days of the Son of man truly consisted in a spiritual relationship ‘in the Lord,’ to use the Pauline expression, and that their dawning was through a spiritual re-birth, as the saints of the Johannine type testified.

One feels, however, that this beautiful application of the utterance to the reality of inward experience for the disciple afterwards, to the immediate individual intuition of the communicated divine life, not only depends upon that qualitative interpretation of the saying about the Kingdom, which is itself uncertain, but also renders the verse quite out of harmony with the subsequent admonitions of a distinctly external and catastrophic type with which it is incorporated in the Lucan transmission.

All things considered, with our present inadequate knowledge, a judgment of *non liquet* seems alone open to us. If the dictum be authentic, it signifies the suddenness and simultaneousness of the presence, advent, or—in later Church phraseology—the return of the Son of man. If the verse be a product of reflexion within the Christian communities, its object is to strengthen wavering hopes, to meet the strain and disappointment of the prolonged delay of that earnestly expected open Parousia of the glorified Lord.

IV. In this abode of religious learning¹ we are fain to ask, What use for edification can therefore be made of this fragment from the sacred narratives, which is so 'hard to be understood'?

We must frankly admit that a direct, literal, and immediate application does not appear to be possible, by reason of the modern Christian's altered outlook upon the universe, and consequently his utterly different religious expectations from those of the first age, which were so intensely realistic, and expressed in terms of time and space which are quite foreign to us now.

'Days will come, when ye shall desire to see one of the days of the Son of man, and ye shall not see it.'

A. According to that view of the original signification of the saying to which we incline, it is not of importance whether 'one of the days' could mean (in the vernacular) to the speaker and the hearers the first, the beginning of a series of preparatory manifestations, or not, because of the anticipated world-wide simultaneousness of the epiphany. But our cosmology, which has long ceased to be geocentric, forbids such expectation of, and has eliminated the literal yearning for, a dramatic and spectacular *dénouement*; and the hope for the celestial pageantry of the advent of

the Son of man has been abandoned, although the rich religious value of the ancient symbolism is assuredly to be preserved.

And yet one ventures to think that, despite the transformation of the old apocalyptic anticipations, even after all these Christian centuries of change, the text does express a truth which is verifiable for each decade and each generation, by those who have eyes to see with a vision which is not that of physical ocular apprehension. Neither epoch, nor *lustrum*, nor year passes by but there is manifested a day or, if you will, days of the Son of man therein, although the majority of those even who call themselves by the name of Christ do not perceive it; and, but for prophet and poet, men of creative vision, endued with more subtle sensitiveness to register their consciousness of waves of religious movement, the day of the reigning divine-human Personality passes unnoted and unobserved by the mass of men; and only when the special manifestation—among religious communities or the nations of the world, in social upheaval or wave of liberating and uniting thought—has ceased, the importance thereof comes to be recognized and appreciated.

There is no need to look far back down the avenue of Christian centuries for illustrations of the 'presence,' the 'days' of the Son of man in energizing spiritual power, exhibited either in slow or rapid processes of change—the catastrophic coming for the Jewish people in the sack of the Holy City, crises in the decay of the Empire of which the Latin Church more especially became the residuary legatee, and historic moments in the spreading of the faith—for we live *now* in a day of the Son of man, of the self-revealing, sway-establishing Lord, to whose own inner consciousness when on earth the reign of God was already present in the vibrant harmonies of His own soul, as well as future in the home-like symphony which He anticipated of attuned spirits, in communion with the Father and with each other.

Earth's crammed with heaven,
And every common bush afire with God;
But only he who sees takes off his shoes.

Yes, 'only he who sees.' For the most part, this application of the text in a modern spirit remains true of mankind: 'Ye shall not see it.'

(i.) The desperate onrush of the Balkan war last autumn, almost beyond the reach of imagina-

¹ Preached in the University Church, Cambridge.

tion, with its surprises for the great world-powers and for its own initiators, its shock to Islam: is that no part of a day of Christ whose significance and whose issues are as yet unmeasured and unrealized? Ought we not to pray that the treaty of peace so recently signed in London may form indeed 'a landmark in history,' and that a reign of friendship, concord, and justice, a regency of the uniting spirit of Jesus, may come to be established shortly in those desolated and harried countries?

(ii.) Again, the Christian folk of our islands have not grasped it, but for those who watch the phenomena of change, the flush of a bright religious dawning deepens and spreads in the further East.

The World's Missionary Conference of three years ago has been followed by a gathering together in one spirit of the Christian agencies throughout all India, and last December was signalized by a new birth of religious unity in that vast land which is deemed the brightest jewel in Britain's imperial crown. But now, this very year, the consolidation of the Church of China proceeds apace, and it only required the recent appeal of the Celestial Government for the Christians' supplications to stir the public mind to realize that something is happening which will change for ever the features of the religious landscape in the country that now bears upon its surface a quarter of the world's population, and with whose inhabitants lies, we dare to say, for the East at any rate, the development and the complexion of the Christianity of the future. Surely, if we possess the vision of spiritual hope, we must see that a day of the Son of man is upon us; although no thunders of acclamation proclaim it to the Churches or the nations, and the people recognize it not, and no heavenly spectacle compels the attention of men to the subtly-spreading religious wave of a new spirituality and the urge of an upraising and democratizing Christian influence.

(iii.) Time does not permit in this discussion and brief applying of a text that we should dwell upon the modern interplay and interflow between East and West of deep religious thought of the contemplative and mystic type, or upon the remarkable though contrasted phenomenon of the active interest of the statecraft of the far distant Orient in, and its investigation into, the nation-building forces of our faith. Tendencies like these are, for prophetic minds who look beneath the

surface currents of our time, tokens of an advent, a moving, impelling presence of the Lord, of wider reach and vaster range of historic influence than that once desired and yearned for local manifestation of the Son of man from on high.

B. But a more limited, personal, and intimate application, if not primitive, possesses at least a modern value.

If one who delves below the primary meaning of our text perceives in some such manner as we have described its fulfilment in the broader spaces of what may be termed historic development, it is not to be denied that the day of the Son of man, unseen to the crowd, lights up the narrow places and dim recesses of the individual soul. Here the mystic inwardness of the Kingdom, here the internal advent of the Christ by the pervading, indwelling Spirit, exercises invisibly its sovereign, its transforming power.

Not seen without, but felt, experienced within, a divine communion, a sweet, ineffable, and empowering nearness, so irradiating the human spirit that even upon earth, on the toil-worn daily path, it 'dwells in the heavenly places,' and gaining poise, balance, and harmony, possesses some foretaste of that life eternal which is the knowledge of God. Many, alas! have not felt the desire for such a day of the Son of man within the soul's experience: many have not even thought of or considered the very possibility of the immediate knowledge of such presence and communion; immersed as they are in the sordid labour of garnering a living wage, set upon the needs, rewards, and pleasures of earth alone, no impulse has stirred them to look above material things and perceive the vision of angels, the ever-waiting Christ, whose guerdon of entrance is His regency within.

C. Nevertheless, it is not only in movements religious and social that days of the Son of man wax and wane unseen, unannounced and unacclaimed, and in the speedy or gradual changes within the single soul, but, just as the first apostles were themselves distributors, and the wider circle of disciples light-bearers, so for us as loyal followers there abides the consciousness of a deep responsibility laid upon ourselves as heralds of the dawn, as agents of the self-manifestation of the Lord to other men. The day of the Son of man comes around us and in us indeed, but also *through* us.

Preparers for the recognition of the inward, invisible Daystar in the heart are we for those souls in the twilight of doubt or the gloom of despair, through the untold action of our influence and the inestimable effect of our personal example, in municipal work, in friendship's ties, in the mutual duties of employment, with the moulding power of a teacher or in the impressionable condition of a listener.

D. Finally, in these various cases which can be rendered illustrative of days of the Son of man, we observe a similarity to nature's processes; sometimes progress by leaps, sometimes a slow advance; now rapid and catastrophic, now gradual, by an evolution that can scarcely be registered. But as with the tedious upbuilding of the land or the violent lateral pressures, volcanic and seismic disturbances, they have all alike passed through a preparation beneath the surface, whether of the earth, of a nation's mind, or of an individual consciousness. The agencies of change work unseen. Silently grow the developments of thought, the subtle, far-reaching alterations in religious outlook, whether in the soul of a people or the heart of a

man. We are, however, apt to forget that even the open 'day' of the Lord's manifestation in flesh came and passed virtually unknown to the world; yet men still with fainting hearts pine for the day, amid the visionless misery of pale, crushed lives, and with half-uttered longings miss the radiant joyousness of the divine presence; while we, the few strong in hope, who have seen the dream, strive 'to shape it to action,' and put our puny shoulders to the slow wheel of religious progress that we may hasten the dawn of an advent of sympathy, amity, and love, the blessedness of a rule of 'righteousness and peace and joy.'

We have learnt from the Incarnate the enthusiasm of patience; for the Sufferer reigns, and the 'men of violence' are forgotten; and we are conscious ourselves that the daybreak emerges from within, the Christ-spirit comes to expression in the heart of an individual or the soul of a community. Thus, with a day of the Lord illuminating our own experience, we are content to continue toiling like the weavers on the underside, beneath the cloud that veils our human sight:

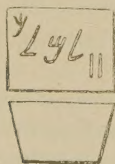
'We may not see how the right side looks: we can only weave and wait.'

Inscribed Hebrew Weights from Palestine.

By PROFESSOR A. R. S. KENNEDY, D.D., UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

II.

IV. THE KING'S WEIGHT.



AMONG the inscribed weights in the Gezer collection is a small bronze weight of the Persian period, described as 'the frustum of a pyramid' (*E.G.* ii. 285, with fig. 433), and weighing 22.28 g (340 grs.). On it is engraved in Old Hebrew characters למלך 11, i.e. '2 of the king's [shekels or staters].' The king of this inscription is the king of Persia, and the weight represents two staters of the well-known Persian silver standard

of the normal value of 173 grs. Of this stater the ordinary silver coin of the Achæmenid kings, called by the Greeks the 'Median siglos,' or shekel, was one-half (*D.B.* iii. 421). That the siglos, however, notwithstanding its name—a græcized form of the Babylonian *shiklu*, shekel, as it is also termed in the Jewish papyri from Elephantinê—is really a half-shekel is evident on several grounds, among them the fact that in the Elephantinê papyri we are expressly informed that the real shekel (the fiftieth part of the mina) or stater (סתר) was equal to two 'shekels,' i.e. to two Persian sigloi.

The special interest of the Gezer double stater for the Old Testament student lies in the fact that the 'pounds,' or minas, 'of silver' in the official

lists of Ez 2⁶⁹, Neh 7^{71f}, were almost certainly weighed by this standard. The mina contained 50 shekels—or 100 sigloi if paid in coins—equal to 560 g, or rather less than 1¼ lb. avoirdupois, of silver. A close parallel to the terms of the inscription on the weight is furnished by an expression in the Elephantinê papyrus Sachau No 28, line 4, where the reference is to a loan of '4 shekels, that is, four, by the weights (lit. "stones," as in Hebrew) of the king.' With this may be compared 2 S 14²⁶, where the weight of Absalom's hair is given as '200 shekels after the king's weight (בְּמֶאֱרֹכֶי הַמֶּלֶךְ)'; but the shekel of this passage is the ordinary Persian trade and gold shekel of 130 grs., the shekel of 'the royal standard,' not the exclusively silver shekel of the weight under discussion.

The latter is also the shekel of which 'the third part,' *circa* 57 grs., was fixed by mutual agreement in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah as the amount of the yearly charge per head 'for the service of the house of our God' (Neh 10³²). This amount was afterwards practically doubled by being raised to the half of the 'sacred' or Phœnician shekel of 224 grs. on the authority of the Priests' Code (Ex 30¹³). On this Persian silver standard, we may safely assume, was reckoned the daily table allowance of Nehemiah's predecessors in the governorship of Jerusalem (Neh 5¹⁵, where read 'for bread and wine daily 40 shekels of silver,' a sum equal to four gold darics, or to something over four guineas per day).

V. THE X̄ SERIES OF WEIGHTS.



This is the place, as will immediately appear, for the examination of a series of weights which have recently come to light in various parts of Southern Palestine. Their common feature is an inscribed symbol X̄, of which no satisfactory explanation has yet been advanced,¹ but which

¹ I can only hazard the conjecture that it is another form of the symbol X̄, which, according to Wilcken, *Grundzüge*

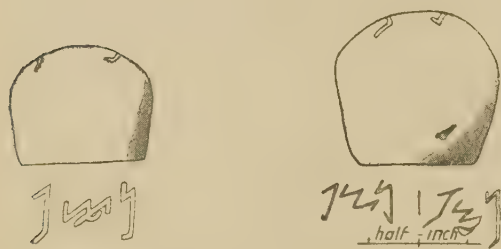
clearly indicates the unit, or shekel, of the series. It is accompanied by other signs belonging to a hitherto unknown numerical notation, viz. I, II, and two signs resembling L and J, which from the values of the weights must stand for our 4 and 8.

In *E.G.* ii. 287 Mr. Macalister has published ten weights of this series—all that are at present known—of which four were found at Gezer in strata belonging to the Persian and Hellenistic periods, three at or near Jerusalem, and two at Tell Zakariya (see *E.P.* 145 f.). Of the ten, two appear to me to be decidedly abnormal or fraudulent; an average of the remaining eight gives a shekel unit of 11.35 g, say 175 grs., clearly the above-mentioned Persian silver standard. Staters, reaching a maximum corresponding precisely to the average of this new series of Palestinian weights, were struck in the Persian period both in Cyprus and at Aradus in Phœnicia.

Of the weights catalogued by Mr. Macalister, at least a fifth may with some confidence be referred to the Persian silver standard, ranging from the quarter and half-shekel, or siglos, up to 15 shekels. At least a fourth of the weights found in the fifth stratum at Megiddo are also on this standard. The two largest (*Tell el-Mutesellim*, 104, Nos. 1 and 2), of 585 and 278.5 g respectively, are evidently a mina, though rather above the standard weight, and a half-mina, the latter with a shekel of 172 grs.

The popularity of this standard for silver payments in the Persian period, as disclosed by its frequency both at Gezer and Megiddo, throws a new light on the much disputed 'shekel of the sanctuary' (see *D.B.* iii. 422). As is there shown, this can only be the shekel of the Phœnician system (see sect. i. above). Now, however, we seem to see why it was necessary for the authors of the Priests' Code to specify so precisely which of the two silver shekels then current in Palestine—the old national shekel or the Persian stater—was that in terms of which the sacred dues of the post-exilic community were to be paid.

u. Chrestom. d. Papyruskunde, I. i. xlv, is a symbol for δραχμή in the cursive writing of the Greek papyri from Egypt. For these weights see, besides *E.G.* ii. 287, 291, especially Pilcher and Dalman as cited above; also *P.E.F.St.* 1904, 209 f., 357 ff.; 1905, 192 f.; Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine* [*E.P.*] 145 f.

VI. THE נֶזֶפֶח (NEZEPH?) WEIGHTS.¹

Ancient Hebrew Weights from Southern Palestine.

In *D.B.* iv. 904 will be found a short account, with illustrations, of a set of small Palestinian stone weights, four of which bear the puzzling word נֶזֶפֶח alone—provisionally pronounced nezeph—while the fifth, known as the Chaplin weight from the name of its first owner, has the longer inscription רֶבַע נֶזֶפֶח, 'a quarter of a nezeph.' The legend on the other side of this tiny shuttle-shaped weight, as given *loc. cit.*, viz. רֶבַע שָׁקָל, will have to be given up if Professor Lidzbarski is right in his view that the engraver made a mistake in his first attempt to write רֶבַע נֶזֶפֶח, then tried to delete the mistake, and, finally wrote the words correctly on the side where they now stand (*Ephemeris für semit. Epigraphik*, i. 13).² The weight is given as 39.2 grs., which yields 156.8 (10.16 g) as the weight of the nezeph unit. More recently two other weights, inscribed נֶזֶפֶח, have come to light; one weighing almost 10 g from Jerusalem, and the other from Gezer, 'very worn,' and in consequence weighing only 9.28 g (143 grs.). In seeking to determine the standard of these and other small weights, the fact should be kept in mind that they are the weights of retailers of the precious metals, whose interest it was to have their weights below, rather than above, the normal value of the standard.³ Accordingly I am still of the opinion, first expressed in the article

¹ For full details of these weights see Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'archéol. orientale*, iv. 24-35, and Mr. Pilcher's articles cited above.

² In any case the stone has, from the rubbed appearance of the inscription, lost a trifle of its original weight which must have been at least 39½ grs., giving a nezeph of 158 grs. (10.24 g).

³ Mr. Macalister's average of 9.73 g (*E.G.* ii. 292) is for this reason too low—the same applies to Mr. Pilcher's normal value of 156 grs.—and is further vitiated by the inclusion of the 'very worn' Gezer weight. The value assigned *loc. cit.* to the third Zakariya weight, 10.45 g (161½ grs.), may be a misprint for 9.45 g, the value given in the original publication, *Excavations in Palestine*, 145.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES already referred to, that we have here the Syrian or Hittite standard of 160 grs. (10.37 g), which Professor Flinders Petrie found so largely represented among the weights of Naucratis, Tanis, and elsewhere (see now his art. WEIGHTS AND MEASURES in *Encyc. Brit.*¹¹). In my former study I named this newly discovered standard the Syrian, because, in the first place, it is probable that the tribute of the states of Syria to their Egyptian suzerains was paid in terms of this standard (see *D.B.* iv. 904^a), and, in the second place, several inscribed minas of Antioch of the Seleucid period yield a shekel or didrachm of about 160 grs. (see the art. PONDERA in Smith's *Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Antiq.* ii. 454). Originally, however, this standard may have been, as Petrie suggests, of Hittite origin. Indeed, I venture to suggest that the Antioch minas just mentioned, of *circa* 8000 grs., are the lineal descendants of the 'mina of Carchemish'—the Syrian capital of the Hittites—constantly met with in Assyrian deeds of sale, and there apparently equated with the light Assyrian mina, on the royal standard, of *circa* 505 g, or 7800 grs. (see Johns, *Assyr. Deeds and Documents*, ii. 268 f.).

The fall in the effective of the Palestinian nezeph weights to 156-157 grs. is perhaps to be explained by the corresponding fall of the Phœnician shekel from 224 to 218-220 grs. (see section i. above). It was necessary to preserve the old-established and convenient ratio between the two contemporary standards, by which five Phœnician shekels were exchangeable for seven of the Syrian nezeph (220 × 5 = 157 × 7).

This standard I find largely represented among the uninscribed Gezer weights; for not only does it claim many of the weights—not all, I think⁴—of Mr. Macalister's ζ, or nezeph, standard, but it will be found that a fair proportion of those of his α, or Babylonian gold shekel, standard find a better place under the Syrian or 160-grain standard.

VII. THE INSCRIBED חֲמֵשׁ (HOMESH) WEIGHT.

In 1907 Professor Barton made known a small bronze weight in the shape of a turtle or tortoise, acquired in Samaria. It weighs 38.58 grs. and is inscribed חֲמֵשׁ, which may be read as 'five' or as 'a fifth.' Since the weight is less than a grain lighter than the Chaplin weight, Mr. Pilcher, in

⁴ For the reason of this qualification see the footnote above.

the articles here frequently cited, regards the two weights as of the same theoretical value, the Chaplin weight being one fourth of the nezeph, which he supposes was divided into 20 gerahs; of these the tortoise weight would contain 'five' (הַמֵּשׁ). But, inasmuch as this division into twentieths is only attested for the 'sacred' or Phoenician shekel (*D.B.* iii. 422), and in view of the fact that the sea-turtle, and later the land-tortoise, are inseparably associated with the coinage of Aegina (Head, *Hist. Numorum*, 2nd ed., 394 ff.), it seems better to read הַמֵּשׁ, 'a fifth,' and to identify Professor Barton's weight with one-fifth of the Aeginetan stater or shekel ($38.6 \times 5 = 193$ grs.) discussed above under section ii.

VIII. THE פִּים (?) WEIGHTS.



Quite the most perplexing of the inscribed weights from Gezer is one catalogued (*E.G.* ii. 285) as '7.27 [*g*]: dome-shaped, marble, inscribed פִּים on top (fig. 431).' It was first published in the *P.E.F.St.* 1907, 266, with illustration. Five years before this, however, Professor Barton had published a somewhat heavier specimen, found near Jerusalem, weighing 117.43 grs., as compared with the 112.17 grs. of the Gezer weight. In addition to the letters פִּים it had on the other side, also in Old Hebrew characters, the words לִבְרִיּוֹ זֵאִיר, i.e. '(belonging) to Zechariah [son] of Jair.' It is fully described and illustrated by Mr. Pilcher, *P.S.B.A.* xxxiv. 115, plate xi., and *P.E.F.St.* 1912, 186.

The first question that emerges regarding these two weights is this: Has the inscription common to both been correctly read? The reading פִּים was first suggested by Professor Barton, who proposed to interpret the letters as an abbreviation of לְפִי מִשְׁקָלָם, 'according the (standard) weight,' a view which is extremely improbable. In his

Recueil (viii. 105-112) M. Clermont-Ganneau devoted one of his valuable studies to these weights, and especially to the interpretation of the enigmatic פִּים. This, he suggested, must be the dual form of פֶּה, 'mouth,' in its derived sense of 'portion,' 'part.' In particular he appealed to Zec 13⁸, where the Hebrew expression פִּי שְׁנַיִם (lit. 'a portion of two') undoubtedly means 'two-thirds.' Finally, on the strength of the effective value of the weights, he identified them as two-thirds of the nezeph unit discussed above.

Now, while the French savant is so far on the right track, his explanation of the supposed form פִּים cannot be accepted. In Hebrew, as is well known, the dual is almost entirely confined to organs of the body that naturally occur in pairs. A plural of פֶּה is found, but a dual is impossible; פִּים, even if correctly read, cannot mean 'two parts,' i.e. 'two-thirds,' which is expressed either as in Zec 13⁸, cited above, or by שְׁתֵּי יָדוֹת (lit. 'two hands'), as in 2 K 11⁷, Mishna, *Kelim*, 17¹¹.

Is there, then, no alternative to this impossible reading? No doubt the form of the third letter on both weights is that usually assumed by the Phoenician and early Hebrew Mem; but in later inscriptions the letter Shin begins to develop a shaft on the right until מ and ש become almost indistinguishable (see Lidsbarski, *Handb. d. nordsem. Epigraphik*, pt. i. 177 ff., with the forms of ש in the tables at the end of part ii.; also S. A. Cook, *P.E.F.St.* 1909, 304). From the point of view of Hebrew epigraphy, therefore, there is no objection to reading for the mysterious פִּים the three letters מִיֶּשׁ, which I take to be an abbreviation of Zechariah's phrase שְׁנַיִם פִּי, 'two-thirds.'

The next question is now—'Of what unit are these weights two-thirds? The mean value of the two weights is 114.8 grs., which is two-thirds of a unit of 172.13 grs. (111.5 *g*). This is no other than the popular Babylonian and Persian silver standard of which the normal weight is 173 grs. (112.2 *g*), already detected in the 'king's weight,' and in the X series of weights discussed in sections iv. and v. of this essay.

IX. INSCRIBED WEIGHTS OF THE ATTIC STANDARD.

Since the Seleucid kings of Syria retained for their silver coinage the Attic monetary standard

introduced into the East by Alexander the Great, we should not be surprised to find weights on this standard in use in Palestine in the Seleucid period. Ten per cent. of the Lachish (Tell el-Hesi) weights are on the Attic standard, with an average drachm of 65.6 grs. It is also represented by at least two of the larger weights from the Seleucid town of Sandahannah. The smaller of the two is the leaden market-weight, to which reference was made in section ii. above. It bears on its face, running round a central ornamentation, the legend: ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟ- [YC], i.e. 'Of Agathocles, Controller of the Market' (Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*, 61, fig. 28). Its weight of 145 g (2238 grs.) shows it to be a tritemorion, or one-third of an Attic mina, of which the drachm ($\frac{1}{100}$) yields the normal value of 4.35 g, or 67 grs.

The other Sandahannah weight is a large circular bronze, measuring $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and weighing 669.445 g, nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ lb. (*loc. cit.*). It represents a mina and a half, slightly over weight, or 150 drachms, of which the mina is 446.3 g. It can scarcely be separated from two of the larger weights of the same period from Gezer, of 223.78 and 553.12 g, which are respectively $\frac{1}{2}$ and $1\frac{1}{2}$ of the same mina.

Last of all I find a reminiscence of the last days of the Syrian domination in Gezer in another leaden weight (*E.G.* ii. 286, fig. 435). It resembles in shape and style Agathocles' market-weight; on its face it shows two cornucopias crossed—a symbol of the later Seleucid kings,—a Δ and four balls symmetrically arranged. It weighs 263.60 g

(over $9\frac{1}{4}$ oz.). There is no unit so large as 65.9 g, of which it could possibly represent four (Δ). But if we combine with this the four balls, we have a weight of 4 times 4, or 16 Attic tetradrachms of 16.48 g, yielding a drachm of 4.12 g, or nearly 64 grains, a result practically in agreement with the weights of the Seleucid coins in the middle of the second century (Babelon, *Les Rois de Syrie*, clxxxiii.).

SUMMARY OF RESULTS.

The results of the preceding investigation may be summed up in a word. Apart from the ancient standards of the original Babylonian shekel of 126 grs., and the Egyptian ket of 140–146 grs., of which no *inscribed* examples are known to me from Palestine, we have evidence, in the inscribed weights from Gezer and elsewhere, of the use in Old Testament times of the following weight-standards: (1) the Phœnician shekel with normal values ranging from 218 to 230 grs.—the true Hebrew silver shekel, and 'the shekel of the sanctuary' in terms of which the temple dues were paid; (2) the early Eastern standard, best known as the Aeginetan or Attic commercial standard, originally of 100 grs., more or less; (3) the perhaps equally ancient Syrian or Hittite standard of 160 grs.; (4) the Babylonian and Persian silver standard, of the normal value in the Persian period of 173 grs., the stater, of which the siglos or 'median shekel' was one-half; and (5) in the Seleucid period the Attic monetary standard, of which the tetradrachm shows a maximum weight of 270 grs., and its drachm $67\frac{1}{2}$ grs.

The Great Text Commentary.

THE GREAT TEXTS OF ACTS.

ACTS XI. 24.

For he was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith.

THE Scripture method in narrative is generally dramatic. It does not name the qualities of the heroes it presents to us, but shows their qualities through their words and actions—the meanness of Jacob, the chivalry of David, the impulsiveness of Peter, the courage of John the Baptist. It gives

us by a few strokes and shades a picture so vivid and lifelike that no comment is needed. But in this text the sacred writer describes the character of Barnabas, and says of him that 'he was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith.'

In thus commending Barnabas, attention is directed to character rather than to gifts. Barnabas was not a man of outstanding ability, or brilliant talents. He was not possessed of a striking personality, such as makes men leaders of great

movements. He was a man of gentle and kindly disposition, one who had earned the title of Barnabas, 'a son of consolation,' his real name being Joses; and it was only his goodness, which enabled him to do the right thing in the right way and at the right time, that gave him a place in the inspired record.

In Scripture men are not commended because they displayed signal heroism under circumstances which few of us may ever know; but because in the daily round of ordinary duty—in hours of adversity and prosperity which come to every man—in campaigns in which we must all play our part, they practised justice, fostered affection, cultivated faith, glowed with gratitude, endured with patience, spake with moderation, and melted with mercy. It is this that makes the Bible record of God's saints so precious to us. We see men of like passions with ourselves, located by Providence in situations similar to our own, influenced by motives which should possess our breasts, and developing virtues within the reach of all.¹

Following the words of the text, we may look first at the *goodness* of Barnabas, and then at the *sources* of it.

I.

BARNABAS' GOODNESS.

'He was a good man.'

Nothing is half so mighty as goodness. If an ambitious man should ask, 'How can I make my name to be remembered longest upon the earth?' the answer would be, 'Try to be good, and to do good.' Goodness, whatever form it may assume, has a powerful attraction for men, especially eminent goodness, or goodness under circumstances in which it presents a contrast to surrounding wickedness, and has to contend with adverse influences. Such was the goodness of Barnabas. It was not a sickly goodness, like the beauty of a hot-house plant, but strong, and active, making a place for itself, and producing effects in the lives of others. His piety was not only real in kind but superior in degree. He was eminently good, good above many of the saints of God by whom he was surrounded. There is a remarkable fact stated respecting his decision and self-denial in the account of his first setting out as a Christian disciple; and it often happens that you may infer to a great extent the characteristics of an individual from the first great act of his spiritual life.

¹ J. H. Hitchens.

A traveller in Nicaragua, in 1857, notes this curious circumstance in his diary. 'There is a church at Stivas, over the principal portal of which is a very well-executed bust of the leader of the American Revolution, and, on inquiring of a native of the town, I was informed that it was a bust of the "good saint, George Washington!" I confess that, as I passed this church, I felt like taking off my hat, and I did it, not because of custom, but because I could not help it.'²

1. His goodness had the grace of *liberality*. He was one of the first to set the example of devoting his substance to the Church of Christ. In the fourth chapter of Acts we read, 'and Joses, who by the apostles was surnamed Barnabas, having land; sold it, and brought the money, and laid it at the apostles' feet.' He first yielded himself unto the Lord, and then he gave his possessions. The man was carried away by his idea; he was ready to make a sacrifice. No sooner did the new ideas of Christianity fall upon his heart than he took fire from them, and, careless of the future, feeling that the new life of emotion and thought begun in him would re-create and fill his whole being, he sacrificed his fortune and his future, without a moment's hesitation, to the support of the new Church. He took no vow of poverty; he made himself poor at once in earthly possessions, but rich in love. It is delightful to read of this prompt enthusiasm, this rapid dash of emotion into action, and it is the keynote of the character of Barnabas. No fear, no prudence, no weighing of possibilities held him back. He believed his impulses; he let himself swing with the swing of his emotion, and the word or the act leaped forth with a kind of glorious unthoughtfulness. Wise persons may call him unpractical, but after all it is by unpractical people like Barnabas that the greatest part of the noble work of healing, teaching, evangelizing, and uplifting mankind is done.

A man's use of his money is perhaps just as big a test as life can bring. It has been said that the last thing in a man to be converted is his pocket. Now Barnabas, in a day when a special endowment of generosity had fallen upon the Church, when many gave all they had, and there was a spirit of fellowship so marked and deep that no one counted anything his own—even in that day Barnabas is singled out as one who having land sold it and gave the proceeds to the apostles, no doubt because of the utter sincerity of the spirit in which it was done.³

2. His goodness was *free from prejudice*. Owing to the persecution about Stephen, Christians

² J. N. Norton, *Milk and Honey*, 44.

³ J. Oman.

became scattered as far as Phœnicia, and Cyprus, and Antioch, and preached the gospel in each of those places, addressing Jews only. But some of them, men of Cyprus and Cyrene, on reaching Antioch, spoke also to the Greeks. This was an innovation, but God set His seal upon it; for we read, 'The hand of the Lord was with them: and a great number that believed turned unto the Lord.' The news of this made no small stir in Jerusalem. Jerusalem was nothing if not orthodox, and jealous of its calling and privileges. But the Spirit of Christ was in their midst, and the Church would not censure or attempt to suppress this movement if it were truly of God. So they selected Barnabas to visit the disciples in Antioch and see the work for himself. A better messenger could not have been sent. Barnabas possessed the open eye and the unprejudiced heart, and at once he perceived in the movement 'the grace that was of God,' and rejoiced in it. This was contrary to the expectations of the Jerusalem Church, contrary it may be to the feelings of Barnabas as he set out on his mission; but what he saw was too evidently of God for him to hesitate for a moment. He was glad at what he witnessed, and exhorted them all, that with purpose of heart they would cleave unto the Lord.

When he came to Antioch and saw the work that was going on, when he saw lives morally purified and intellectually ennobled, without any of the usual ceremonies or observances of Judaism being insisted upon, he could not refrain from avowing his sympathies: he had no eyes but for the signs of God's grace among the people, and altogether neglecting the ecclesiastical order to which he had been accustomed he gave himself to this new manifestation of the work of God. This is what the writer of the chapter before us seeks to account for in this at first sight irrelevant observation, and his mode of accounting for it is noteworthy. In modern times it would seem most natural to say that Barnabas was a man of broad sympathies; Barnabas was a man of marked liberality; he was a man of loftiness of view, from which all the little distinctions of Jew and Gentile faded into nothingness. But the writer says nothing of this kind; he simply remarks that Barnabas 'was a good man, full of the Holy Ghost and of faith.' And it is a fact in life's experience that greatness, genuineness, goodness of heart, far oftener than brilliance of intellectual

ability, is the true solvent of prejudice, and the true healer of schism. But we must understand the nature of this goodness aright. Far be it from us for a moment to suppose that it was mere weak amiability. It is difficult to put into other words this quality of goodness, which commends itself to every unaffected heart; but perhaps we may say that wherever goodness attracts us to love, we note in it a mingled frankness, kindliness, affection, Christian love; there is a singleness of eye, which knows no duplicity, no taint of impurity; it is inspired by a love which is no selfish passion, but signifies rather, if we may so speak, the transference of the moral centre of gravity from self to God and His creatures.

The man who rejoiced in the grace of God as he saw it struggling through hard soil, beneath ungenial skies, in the young believers of Antioch, looks on brighter fields to-day. By this time he has asked in astonishment, with the beloved disciple, Who are these that are arrayed in white clothing, and whence came they? The man who has an eye to see and a heart to love true believers, marred by many imperfections on the earth, shall look, ere long, upon the saints made perfect. The eye that glistens now at the sight of grace will be permitted soon to gaze on glory.¹

3. Barnabas was a *peacemaker*. When Paul came to Jerusalem after his conversion and assayed to join himself to the disciples, they were all afraid of him. His reputation as a persecutor might well make them regard him with suspicion. Doubtless, they thought, 'He has hostile reasons for mingling with us. It is his object to spy us out and betray us.' They could not believe that one so prominent as the opponent of Christianity, and so violent in the measures which he adopted, should have altered his purpose, still less that he should have become himself a follower of Christ. 'They were all afraid of him, not believing that he was a disciple.' But Barnabas intervened with warm-hearted testimony to Paul, and to the great change he had undergone, how he had seen the Lord in the way, and how he had preached boldly at Damascus in the name of Jesus. His goodness made him quick to see goodness in others, and ready to do it honour. There was in him no evil eye of suspicion; no withholding of tribute to another's piety where it was deserved.

Can any service well compare with this rendered by this son of encouragement? He interpreted the Church to Paul, and Paul to the Church. He made him feel at home in it. He showed him that

¹ W. Arnot, *The Church in the Home*.

on the old conservative ground, without a split or schism, there was room for all his originality, all his freshness, all his independence, all his new conceptions of the gospel. On the one side he showed the power of the Church to absorb new life; on the other he encouraged and guided that new life to attach itself to the old without doing injury to it. His sunny nature dispelled all sullenness of temper, all sense of disappointment or unsuitability, which may for a time have clouded the imagination of Saul of Tarsus—so gloriously won, so strikingly called, and then for a time so little appreciated in his new fellowship.

II.

THE SOURCE OF HIS GOODNESS.

'Full of the Holy Ghost and of faith.'

1. The truth to notice here is that Barnabas was in this respect the sharer of a common blessing. The bestowment of the Spirit was not confined to the Apostles and Evangelists of the New Evangel. It is said that the Holy Spirit fell on all them that heard the Word; and in another place that after prayer they were all filled with the Holy Ghost. Barnabas did not differ from his fellow-believers, nor was he greatly distinguished beyond them; but all that he was and all that he achieved was by the Holy Spirit.

(1) The great promise of the gospel is precisely this promise. We seriously limit and misunderstand what we call the gospel if we give such exclusive predominance to one part of it as some of us are accustomed to do. The first word that Jesus Christ says to any soul is, 'Thy sins be forgiven thee.' But that first word has a second that follows it, 'Arise and walk!' and it is for the sake of the second that the first is spoken. The gift of pardon, the consciousness of acceptance, the fact of reconciliation with God, the closing of the doors of the place of retribution, the quieting of the stings of accusing conscience—all these are but meant to be introductory to that which Jesus Christ Himself, in the Gospel of John, emphatically calls more than once '*the gift of God*,' which He symbolized by 'living water,' which whosoever drank should never thirst, and which whosoever possessed would give it forth in living streams of holy life and noble deeds. The promise of the gospel is the promise of new life, derived from

Christ and maintained in us by the indwelling Spirit, which shall come like fresh reinforcements to an all but beaten army, in some hard-fought field, which shall strengthen what is weak, raise what is low, illumine what is dark, and shall make us who are evil good with a goodness given by God through His Son.

'Some time since a physician who is using electricity for therapeutic purposes asked me to go to his office, saying that he would show me some wonderful things. When I reached the office he put me into the insulating chair and then turned on 300,000 volts of electricity into my body—not dynamic, otherwise I should not be here to tell the tale—but static electricity. Instantly I felt that I was surcharged with power. I felt it streaming from me invisibly. He then took an ordinary electric light without the carbon film inside, and gave it to me to hold. Immediately the room was lighted with the electricity flowing from my body and streaming through the glass. He took that from me, and put a chain in my hand which was attached to a machine. Instantly the machine began to run furiously, all because of the power that I received and was now discharging. I felt myself filled with a mysterious potency. Before the current was turned through me I was as powerless to do these things as I now am. After the current was turned on, these and other things were child's-play to me.' So the soul filled with the Spirit through faith in Christ is a radiator of the light and energy Divine.¹

(2) But to be filled with the Holy Ghost is not necessarily to rank with the greatest even in the kingdom of heaven; for all natures are not equal, and He comes to aid in their completion, not to recreate them. One man is as the lowly wayside cottage, and another as the magnificent mansion, for both of which there is a common sunlight, which enters, however, in proportion to the windows open to it, and fills just as much space as it has access to. Into every little creek, no less than into the glorious bay wherein boats come and go and ships can ride for anchorage, the tide will roll if they are exposed to it, but the creek remains a creek, and the bay has uses and grandeur which alone belong to it.

You may have seen a tiny stream trickling down the mountain-side. As it proceeds, other streams join it in succession, till it becomes a river, ever flowing and ever increasing till it reaches the ocean; and yet from that ocean came every drop of water that rolls in that river's bed. It gives only what it has received. It could not flow, it could not be, without the free gift of all from the sea. The deep and flowing river depends on the tiny spring. Cut it off from its source, and immediately it ceases to flow. So it is ever spiritually. God gives all. 'From him, and by him,

¹ A. F. Schauffler, *Pastoral Leadership*, 136.

and to him are all things.' To save man the profit, but to God the praise. 'We are his workmanship.'¹

2. Barnabas was also full of faith. It was because he was full of faith that he was full of the Holy Ghost; and the inspiration of the Holy Ghost gave illumination and force to his faith. His faith not only enabled him to grasp the gospel for himself with confidence, and to appropriate its sanctifying influences, but imparted the assurance of the gospel's success. He expected to witness its triumphant progress, and what he expected, he realized. After the statement, 'he was full of the Holy Ghost and of faith,' it is significantly added, 'and much people was added unto the Lord.' Often success is not achieved because it is not expected.

We have all heard about the student who was in the habit of preaching out of doors, and who went to Mr. Spurgeon one day to say that, although he had been preaching a long time, there were no conversions. 'What!' said Mr. Spurgeon, 'and do you expect that every time you stand up to speak, the Lord is going to save souls through your preaching?' 'Oh no!' he answered, 'not that.' 'Then,' said Mr. Spurgeon, 'that is the reason why you do not get it.' Ah! Mr. Spurgeon had him. And it is just want of faith that prevents success on the part of many a would-be soul-winner.²

3. But Barnabas, though full of the Holy Ghost and of faith, had his frailties, and made some mistakes. None are perfect, not even those in whom the grace of God is most conspicuous. Barnabas had the faults of his virtues. His gentleness and willingness to see good in all sometimes betrayed him into compliance with error, and leniency towards unfaithfulness. He was good, but sometimes weak, lacking the sterner stuff of

¹ J. Davies, *The Kingdom without Observation*, 160.

² J. G. Stewart, *Talks about Soul-Winning*, 82.

which heroes are made. He is a warning to us, as evidencing how the highest gifts and graces are corrupted in our sinful nature, if we are not diligent to walk step by step, according to the light of God's commandments. Be our mind as heavenly as it may be, most loving, most holy, most zealous, most energetic, most peaceful, yet if we look off from Him for a moment, and look towards ourselves, at once these excellent tempers fall into some extreme or mistake. Charity becomes over-easiness, holiness is tainted with spiritual pride, zeal degenerates into fierceness, activity eats up the spirit of prayer, hope is heightened into presumption. We cannot guide ourselves. God's revealed word is our sovereign rule of conduct; and therefore, among other reasons, is faith so principal a grace, for it is the directing power which receives the commands of Christ, and applies them to the heart.

But Barnabas overcame at last. And at his death he seemed more than ever the steadfast Apostle of Jesus. According to tradition, he ended his life where he began it—at Cyprus. One day he went into the synagogue of Salamis, and began, as was his wont, to preach Christ to the assembly. Certain Jews who had come over from Syria to the island to stir up the people against him, laid their hands on him, and confined him in the synagogue until night, when they dragged him forth, stoned him to death, and then tried to burn his body to ashes. But his body is said to have resisted the power of the flames, though it did not that of the stones, and St. Mark buried it. Such a man takes rank as a leader among 'the glorious company of the apostles' and 'the noble army of martyrs.'³

³ *Church Pulpit Year Book*, ii. (1905) 155.

Canaan and the Babylonian Civilization.

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FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, in his *Babel und Bibel* (1902, p. 28), says: 'When the twelve tribes of Israel entered Canaan, they came into a region completely under the sway of Babylonian civilization.' Many scholars have given to this statement their tacit or even explicit approval. For instance, we find such repetitions of Delitzsch's assertion as the following: 'The religion of the Canaanites

was the ancient Oriental one,' i.e. Babylonian.¹ Moreover, from this assumption it is frequently inferred that the Israelites became acquainted with and adopted the Babylonian legends and myths after their entrance into Canaan.² I may be

¹ H. Winckler, *Religionsgesch. und geschichtl. Orient*, 1906, p. 33.

² Gunkel, *Kom. zur Genesis*, 1909, p. 73.

allowed, therefore, to investigate the correctness of the above statement of Delitzsch's. I shall not merely repeat what I have recently published in this connexion,¹ for I have abundance of additional material capable of justifying the judgment I have already pronounced.

Those who are acquainted with the history of the excavations which have been undertaken of recent years in the East will readily admit that Delitzsch's pronouncement is not without a certain justification. It will be remembered that the texts discovered at Tell el-Amârna in Middle Egypt in 1888-89 contain a correspondence carried on between Egyptian vassals in Canaan and the Pharaohs, in the Babylonian language and written in the cuneiform character. We know further that a very similar cuneiform letter was discovered by Flinders Petrie at Tell el-Hesi (the ancient Lachish in S.W. Canaan) in 1890, and that, moreover, in the 'third city.' Finally, it is known that at Tell el-Amârna, for instance, there existed the Babylonian myth of the marriage of Ereshkigal, the goddess of the under-world, with Nergal, the god of war and pestilence. But the features of this text indicate that it was written not in Canaan but in Babylonia.² Further connexions between Canaan and Babylonian civilization are mentioned in my *Gesch.* (p. 276 f.); and additional information may be found in a valuable article by Paton,³ in which, however, some of the important points of agreement mentioned by him between the Canaanitish and Babylonian civilizations are doubtful.

The latter remark applies, for instance, to סִינִי, the identity of which with the Bab. moon-god *Sîn* is disputed by P. Haupt (*Z.D.M.G.* 1909, p. 508), who correlates סִינִי with סִנְה, 'thorn-bush,' which is, however, very improbable. In my opinion, we must rather start from the word סִן, which in Ex 16¹ 17¹, etc., signifies a tract of desert. There is little likelihood in the supposition that this has been derived from the name of the moon-god. Far more probable is the connexion of the name *Sîn* with the Aramaic *sejân* and the Syriac *sain*, 'mire,' or 'slime.' At a time when the coast of

the Sinai peninsula was still at a low level⁴ and this strip of coast extended as far as Jebel Mûsâ, this tract of land may easily have been in a marshy condition, and so Mount Sinai might have come to be known as the Mountain of *Sîn*.

That *Rammân* was from the first a purely Babylonian god (Paton) is not proved by the fact that the verb *ramâmu*,⁵ 'to thunder,' exists in the Bab. language alone, for in the Semitic tongues there are many nouns whose corresponding verbs are not to be found; cf. מֶלֶךְ, which was certainly not an adopted word among the Hebrews. The god *Rammân* was not specifically Babylonian, the name being the Assyrian equivalent of Adad.⁶

The idea that the word *Bêthlehem* contains the name of the god *Lachmu*, known from the opening of the Creation Epic, is extremely doubtful. *Bêth* also occurs in combination with many other words which do not designate any god, as, for instance, in *Bêth-Diblathayim*. As this place derived its name from the cultivation of figs in the surrounding districts, in like manner *Bêthlehem* may have received its name from לֶחֶם, 'bread,' i.e. the corn of that neighbourhood. Are we to suppose that even David worshipped *Lachmu* in *Bêthlehem*? (Paton, p. 184). If *lehem* is to be understood in the sense of bread or food, *Bêthlehem* may also have been a place in אֶפְרַתָּה.

But even if all the instances adduced by Paton pointed to the influence of Bab. civilization on Canaan, it is very important that attention should also be paid to the other side of the matter. The question which must be decided is, *to what extent* was pre-Israelitish Canaan a region under the sway of Babylonian civilization? What Delitzsch neglected to do must be done here. In addressing myself to this task I have noted a considerable number of differences between the Canaanitish and Bab. systems of civilization. I believe that I shall be able to demonstrate these in a thorough and convincing manner by treating of only three of the differences which are mentioned in my *Geschichte*.

(1) One of these is found in the fact that, judging from Phœnician inscriptions, the Canaanite-

¹ *Gesch. der alttest. Religion kritisch dargestellt*, 1912, pp. 275-282.

² A. Jeremias, *Das alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*, 1906, p. 169.

³ L. B. Paton, art. 'Canaanites,' in *E.R.E.* iii. p. 183 f.

⁴ Konrad Furrer, in *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1907, p. 257.

⁵ In Paton's art. wrongly printed *ramânu*.

⁶ Jastrow, in *Hastings' D.B.*, extra vol. p. 544.

Phœnicians did not use the same names for the months as did the Babylonians.¹ In these inscriptions we find the following names of months: *Zib* (?), *Ethanîm* (month of continuously full streams), and *Bûl* ('downpour,' i.e. autumnal rains).² The following names of months occur also in the earlier Hebrew writings: *Abîb* ('ear of corn,' i.e. the month of the formation of these, about April), *Ziw* ('brilliance,' corresponding approximately to our May), *Ethanîm* (about October), and *Bûl* (about November).³ We find the following Bab. words in use for the first time after the Exile: Nisan, Iyyar, Siwan; Tammuz, Ab, Elûl; Tishri, Marcheshwan, Kislew; Tebeth, Shebat, Adar.⁴ It may be objected that the last-mentioned month-names were not always used even among the Babylonians. Certainly from the earliest times other names of the months are found in the Assyro-Babylonian documents, as, for example, *Kanûn*, which was known as *Arach samna* (lit. 'eighth month,' equivalent to Marcheshwan) in the New Babylonian Empire (from 625 B.C. onwards). Early Assyrian month-names are also met with in the expression *attuḥur ilâni* (*K.I.B.* i. p. 8) and in *Kuṣallu* (i. p. 46). In addition there occur in the so-called Cappadocian documents the month-names *Kuṣallu*, *Absharanu* (iv. p. 50), *Shazuratim* (p. 52) and *Zizuim* (p. 54). Not one of these names is identical with the Canaanitish designations which are given below in footnote². Moreover, in a letter from the Bab. king Kallima-Sin to Pharaoh, the month-names *Dû'uzu* (the above-mentioned late Heb. *Tammuz*) and *Abu* are used.⁵ These are, then, earlier names which are not found amongst those used by the Canaanites. Therefore my contention with regard to the differences of the month-names which are found among the Canaanite-Phœnicians on the one

hand, and among the Babylonians on the other, retains its full weight.

(2) Other differences between the Canaanitish and the Babylonian civilizations are to be met with in the related spheres of speech and writing.

In the first place the difference in *speech* which distinguished the Canaanite-Phœnicians from the Babylonians and Assyrians is not removed but rather, on the contrary, emphasized by the Amârna letters and the cuneiform inscriptions discovered at Ta'anek. This cannot be denied even by those scholars who have forgotten to note this circumstance, for the Amârna texts contain numerous Canaanitish glosses to Bab. expressions, as, for example, '*abadat*, 'she perished,' in explanation of *chalḫat* (Letter 181, line 51).⁶ Further, as regards the Ta'anek texts, F. Hrozný, Sellin's Assyriological collaborator, writes as follows (*Tell Ta'anek*, p. 116): 'The form of the word *narâm* ('love') is of interest. It has no terminal vowel. This phenomenon, which can be explained only by the influence of the Canaanitish language, may be frequently noted in the letters.' That Bab. influence on the speech of Canaan first made itself strongly felt in later times may be demonstrated by a fact which has been overlooked in recent discussions of this question. 'Eleven' is expressed in Hebrew sometimes by '*aḥad* 'asar (fem. '*aḥath* 'esrê) and sometimes by '*astê* 'asar (fem. '*astê* 'esrê). This word '*astê* was not found among the Canaanites and Phœnicians. What, then, was its origin? Until about forty years ago this was unknown. The most important of the earlier explanations, which appear very curious to us now, are set forth in my *Histor.-krit. Lehrgebäude*, ii. p. 212. As Sayce mentions in his *Assyrian Grammar* (1872, pp. 16, 131, 135), J. Oppert was the first to derive this word '*astê* from the Bab. and Assy. word for 'one,' namely *išten*, and 'eleven' is there expressed by *išten-ešrit* (Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gram.* § 75). It will at once be seen that '*astê* was not an 'ancient dialectical form,'⁷ if a complete survey be made of the passages where it is found. We find 'eleven' represented by '*aḥad* 'asar in Gn 32²³ 37⁹, Dt 1²; '*aḥath* 'esrê occurs in

¹ I was the first to draw attention to this difference in a pamphlet, *Babylonisierungsversuche betreffs der Patriarchen*, etc., 2nd ed., 1903, p. 51.

² The following are the Phœnician names of months which have been discovered up to the present:—
מַרְפָּאס, מַרְפָּא, מִרְח, פֻּעֵלָה, בִּרְר, סַפֵּע, חִיר, יוֹב, וּבְחֶשֶׁשׁ, בֵּל, אֶחָדָה
(M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsem. Epigraphik*, 1898, p. 412).

³ For significance of *Bûl* see my *Heb. Wörterbuch*.

⁴ The complete list from the later Hebrew writings and the Apocrypha are to be found in my treatise 'Kalenderfragen im althebräischen Schriftum' (*Z.D.M.G.* 1906, pp. 605-644), p. 614.

⁵ 'Amârna-texts' in *K.I.B.* v. Letter 3, Revers. lines 8, 10, 12.

⁶ The glosses have now been collected and explained by F. Böhl, *Die Sprache der Amârnabriefe*, 1909, pp. 80-85.

⁷ Brockelmann, *Vergleich. Grammatik der semit. Sprachen*, i. p. 490.

Jos 15⁵¹, 1 K 6⁸⁸, 2 K 9²⁹ 23³⁶ 24¹⁸, Jer 52¹, Ezk 30²⁰ 31¹, 2 Ch 36^{5, 11}. On the other hand, 'astê 'asar is found in Nu 7⁷² 29²⁰, Dt 1³, Zec 1⁷, 1 Ch 12¹³ 24¹² 25¹⁸ 27¹⁴; and 'astê 'esrê in Ex 26^{7f}. 36^{14f}, 2 K 25², Jer 1³ 39² 52⁵, Ezk 26¹ 40⁴⁹. We thus arrive at the following important result: the forms of the numeral 'eleven' which are formed with 'astê (essentially identical with the Bab. *išten*) are found only in parts of Jeremiah and Ezekiel and in exilic (2 K 25²) or post-exilic (Zec 1⁷, where for the first time a Bab. month-name occurs) passages; and four times in Chronicles. The remaining places where 'astê occurs (Ex 26^{7f}. 36^{14f}, Nu 7⁷² 29²⁰, Dt 1³) were already recognized to be of later origin by other characteristics (cf. the author's *Einleit. in das A.T.* p. 226 f.), and this opinion has been confirmed by the discovery of the form 'astê. Thus it is not till the time of direct contact between Canaan and the New Babylonian Empire (from 625 B.C.) that this evidence of the latter's influence upon the 'language of Canaan' (Is 19¹⁸) can be observed. In like manner Bab. influence can be detected in Ezekiel's language,¹ and from the time of Jeremiah the first unmistakable proof of it is found in the fact that the Hebrews began their year in spring (Jer 36²²), as did the Babylonians in the later period at least.

Whether there was complete uniformity between the form of *writing* employed by the Canaanites and the Babylonians respectively is still a hotly disputed question. It is known that in addition to the Amârna and the twelve Ta'anek texts several other cuneiform documents have been discovered during the excavations in Palestine. The American excavators in Samaria have also been successful in finding some of these, as stated by Professor Lyon in the *Sunday School Times* (1911). But it is rash to conclude that in ancient Canaan the cuneiform alone was used. Three circumstances will make this clear.

(a) From the extant documents it would appear that the Canaanites employed the cuneiform script only when using the Bab. language. But they possessed a language of their own, and it is probable, therefore, that they utilized written characters of their own when using it.

(b) According to the latest researches the age of the Phœnician characters is much greater than has been supposed during the last decade. The

Phœnician or Old Semitic alphabet is most probably a simplified form of the signs used by the Egyptians, the inventors of alphabetical writing,² and not, as Delitzsch and others³ maintain, to be derived from the Bab. cuneiform; and there are good reasons for holding that it passed through a considerable period of development. In his brilliant article 'Recent Theories on the Origin of the Alphabet,'⁴ Hirschfeld rightly agrees on this point with the conclusions of Professor A. S. Zerbe in his exhaustive work on *The Antiquity of Hebrew Writing and Literature*, 1911 (p. 154 f.). This view is supported, for instance, by the fact that the S. Semitic script is not a direct development from the alphabet of the Mesha inscription, but has arisen from another division of the group of early Semitic or Phœnician scripts, and this development opens for us a view into times long before Mesha.⁵ Besides, the Phœnician alphabet was adopted by the Greeks between 1200 and 1000 B.C. (Zerbe, p. 136). Another factor of interest in this connexion is the great age of an inscription discovered by Flinders Petrie in the neighbourhood of Sinai, which, because of the primitive form of its characters, he dates about 1500 B.C. (*apud* Zerbe, p. 152 f.).

(c) Finally, the writing materials which, according to recent researches, were used by the Phœnicians at an early stage make the use of cuneiform script improbable. Thus in the account of his residence in the Phœnician Byblos (c. 1100 B.C.), the Egyptian Wen-Amon⁶ mentions five hundred papyrus rolls which were imported into Phœnicia from Egypt, and we know that the use of cuneiform on papyrus was practically impossible.⁷

It is evident, therefore, that in all probability Bab. influence on Canaan at an early period, so far at least as the written language is concerned, was a very limited one.

(3) Other differences between the Canaanite-Phœnician civilization and that of Babylonia are to be met with in the conception of the gods, the creation of the world, the origin of man, and the cultus. Without surveying the whole of this wide

² Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, 1909, i. 2, § 203.

³ Cf. Benzinger, *Heb. Archäologie*, 1907, p. 174.

⁴ *J.R.A.S.* 1911, pp. 963 f. and 965.

⁵ Prätorius, 'Das kanaan. und das südsem. Alphabet,' *Z.D.M.G.* 1909, p. 191.

⁶ Translated by Breasted, *Ancient Records*, iv. p. 280.

⁷ Kittel, *Die Kultur Palästinas vom 16-13 Jahrhundert*, 1911, p. 28.

¹ Cf. my *Geschichte*, p. 405.

and still partially obscure region, I may mention here the following points which have not been given their due weight in recent works on Canaan and Babylonia.

In contrast to the Babylonians, the favourite word used by the Phœnicians to express the idea of 'deity' is the plural form *'alônîm* (cf. the treatment of *ilâni*, in my *Gesch.* p. 130). Moreover, the goddess called by the Babylonians *'Îštar* was known among the Canaanites under the feminine form *'Aštart*.¹ On the other hand, the god *Milk* or *Melk*, 'king,' was not known to the Babylonians and Assyrians.² The differences between the two civilizations may be further illustrated by the names of many Babylonian deities who are absent from the Canaanitish pantheon, as, for instance, *Marduk*.—There are many discrepancies as regards the conception of the Creation. According to the Phœnicians, if the statements of Philo Byblios (Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* i. 10) may be trusted, air was the first element, whilst amongst the Babylonians the priority was accorded to water. Moreover, the expressions used by the two peoples in their cosmogonies are not the same. The Phœnician *Môt* is not the same as the Babylonian *Ti'âmatu*. *Môt* probably signifies the 'primeval slime' supposed to have existed at the beginning of the world, similar to the fertile mud deposited annually by the overflow of the Nile in Egypt, and which was personified by the inhabitants as *Mout*. In the Phœnician cosmogony the gods do not appear, whilst their emergence forms one of the most remarkable

incidents in the Babylonian Creation-myth.³—The word *nešîb* (or some similar form), 'pillar,' which occurs seven times in the Phœnician inscriptions,⁴ was not used by the Babylonians; moreover, in my opinion, 'pillars' did not play such a large part in the ceremonial worship of the Assyrians and Babylonians as they did in that of the Canaanites. Many pillars have been found at Tell eš-Šâfi, and later at Gezer, Ta'annek, and other places;⁵ and I believe that some of these are primitive altars (*Gesch.* p. 85). The word 'pillar,' however, is found neither in the Index of *K.A.T.*³ nor in Zimmern's article 'Babylonians and Assyrians' in Hastings' *E.R.E.* ii. p. 317f.—Finally, it may be mentioned that in Babylonia laymen were not forbidden to eat the flesh of sacrificial victims, as they were among the Phœnicians and Israelites. According to Bar 6²⁸, the Babylonian priests used to sell the flesh.⁶

The present article may be considered more of an outline sketch than a complete picture, but it will suffice to show clearly that the assertion quoted at the beginning to the effect that Canaan was 'completely under the sway of Babylonian civilization' is not borne out by the historical facts. This obviously furnishes weighty arguments against the theory of borrowing which many scholars have recently advanced in connexion with several parts of Genesis—a theory which is exposed to many other objections, as has been shown in my *Gesch.* pp. 44, 143f., 145f., 281.

³ Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques*,² 1905, pp. 405-407.

⁴ Bloch, p. 45.

⁵ Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente*, 1907, pp. 102-108.

⁶ J. Jeremias, art. 'Ritual' in *Encyc. Bibl.* iv. col. 4117.

¹ 1 K 11⁵, etc.; Bloch, *Phön. Glossar*, p. 51.

² The 'purely Tyrian god' (*ilu*), *Mi-il-kar-ti*, 'Lord of the city,' is mentioned in an interesting cuneiform inscription (*K.A.T.*³ 1903, p. 357).

In the Study.

Virginitibus Puerisque.

Again.

BY THE REV. W. VENIS ROBINSON, B.A.

'Do it again.'—Pr 19¹⁹.

MR. ALLENSON has published a volume of addresses to children by the Rev. W. Venis Robinson, B.A., of Falmouth, with the title *Angel Voices from*

Earth and Heaven (2s. 6d. net). Here is one of the addresses.

Wilfrid was a little boy three years old. One day he was riding on father's foot. Up and down he went, again and again. Then father stopped just for a rest. And Wilfrid's voice was heard clear and strong.

'Again!'

And so the game had to be repeated. But every time father stopped, the little voice was heard saying, 'Again.'

And Lily was a little maid, who liked to ride on father's shoulders in the garden. *He* was the horse, and *she* was the rider. And sometimes the horse walked; then it trotted; then it cantered; and then it galloped. But if the horse stopped for ever such a short time, he was sure to hear a little voice saying, 'Do it again.'

When we like anything, we want more of it. Nice games and other nice things must be repeated; and so we say, 'Do it again.'

That is *how we learn the great lessons of life*, by saying to others, 'Do it again.'

One little boy I knew never tired of hearing mother tell stories, when he was being put to bed at night, or when he was being dressed in the morning. Some were fairy stories, but some were Scripture stories.

He always liked the story of the lamb that lost his way. He had a good mother, and plenty to eat, and he was very happy. But one day he saw, through a gap in the hedge, some pretty flowers in a meadow that looked deliciously green. So he slipped through the hedge to get them; and then he wandered farther and farther till he was lost. And then it grew dark, and then he fell down and hurt himself, and then he pushed his way past a thorn bush, and his coat was torn, and then he heard the dreadful howl of the wolf. But the shepherd came after him and found him and took him home.

And when mother had finished the story, he said, 'Say it again, mother.'

And the story was repeated. But the story must be told exactly as before, in the same words and in the same way. If mother left out anything, or told any part of the story differently, he was certain to notice it.

But that is how we learn everything, by hearing it again and again.

And *that is how God teaches us*.

When we see the sun rise in the morning with wonderful colours on the clouds, red and gold and white, we say, 'Do it again.' And God does it again and again. And we learn to love the beauty of God in Nature.

And when we are hungry, God gives us food, and we say, 'Do it again.' And God does it again and again. He gives us day by day our daily

bread. And we learn to trust in the goodness of God.

And when our hearts are heavy with sorrow and sin, He shows us Jesus on the Cross, the Lamb of God who bears away the sin of the world. And we say, 'Do it again.' And again and again the vision of Jesus our crucified Redeemer is given to us. And we learn to trust and love the Saviour of the world.

But those words, 'Do it again,' are words that other people say to us.

God says, 'Do it again.'

Gladys was a little girl who had been taught to pray. Her mother taught her first of all the verse that begins, 'Gentle Jesus, meek and mild.' But Gladys really did not know what the last line meant, 'Pity my simplicity.' She could not even pronounce that word properly. She said, 'Pity my sipicity,' or something like that. So mother taught her another verse, the one beginning:

'Jesus, tender Shepherd, hear me,
Bless thy little lamb to-night.'

And there is not one single long word in that verse Gladys could not pronounce and understand. But Gladys had to say it again and again before she knew it. And every night she said that verse when she went to bed.

But at last she became tired of it. So one night she said it very fast, 'JesustenderShepherdhearme.'

'Gladys,' her mother said, 'what do you mean by that?'

'Well, mother dear,' said Gladys. 'I do get so tired of saying the same words in the same way, may I not change them sometimes?'

'Certainly,' mother said; 'but you must not gabble them.'

So Gladys began again, and this time she said them quite nicely, only she changed one word:

'Jesus, tender Shepherd, hear me,
Bless thy little *pig* to-night.'

'Gladys!' said her mother, in a very surprised tone.

'Well, mother, I am a little pig to-night,' Gladys said.

'If you really feel like that, my dear, that is a very different thing.'

'But, mother, do you think that Jesus will bless me if I am like a pig?'

'He certainly will, dearie, if you really wish

Him to do so, and perhaps He will make you like a lamb.'

That is a true story. It has not been told because it is odd, but because it teaches that though the same prayer said again and again teaches us how to learn the prayer, yet the repetition often becomes wearisome, and almost any change is a relief.

God says to us, 'Do it again.' He wants us to pray to Him often; but if we say the same words each time, He is tired of it, and we are tired of it. Let us pray exactly as we feel; if we do not feel aright, let us tell the Heavenly Father so, but do not let us forget that God wants us to pray often. He says to us, 'Do it again.'

And that, too, is *the way in which we form good habits*, by listening to the voice that says, 'Do it again.'

One little boy who comes to see me finds it great fun to climb up stone steps and then over a little stone wall. And he will do this again and again for half an hour. And every time he comes he plays the same game. But that is the way in which he learns. If when he gets big he will climb up and up the steps of fame and climb over walls of difficulty, he will be a successful man.

That is what God wants us to do. If we know what is right He would have us do it again and again, until at last we come to do what is right without thinking about it.

September.

BY THE REV. ROBERT HARVIE, M.A., EARLSTON.

'The stork in the heaven knoweth her appointed times; and the turtle, and the crane, and the swallow, observe the time of their coming; but my people know not the judgment of the Lord.'—Jer 87.

The other day I came across a sentence which set me thinking of the message of September. The sentence was this: 'The mellow days of September with their tinted leaves of red and yellow, bronze and gold, are to be numbered among the most enjoyable of nature's year.'

The colouring of the leaves is not very far advanced yet, but there are signs enough that the trees will soon tell us in this way that Autumn has come. Spring attracts us by its freshness and its welcome awakening after the sleep of Winter. Summer, with all its splendour and its abundance of colour, never fails to win our admiration. But

a bright September, with its restful, calm, quiet days, is, in nature, like the evening of a busy day, when a hard-wrought man sits down to meditate.

Another thing we notice about this time is the departure of the birds. They come to our land in the Spring and early Summer, and they leave some time in the Autumn. A voice seems to call them to warmer climates, where they won't have to endure the cold of Winter.

There is an old legend somewhere which connects the going away of the birds with the changing colour of the leaves, and I'll try to tell it to you.

You can read in the Bible of the trees clapping hands and the hills being joyful, so you need not be surprised if I tell you of trees talking.

Well, the trees gathered together in counsel. They spoke of how bright it made things when the birds came, and how their notes filled the air with glad sounds, so they agreed to ask the birds to build in their branches, and they would give them the shelter of their leaves for their nests. The birds accepted the offer, and the woods rang out with their song. They were as happy as could be, for they felt quite secure. But the season was advancing and the cold of the North was coming over the land. Still the birds sang for joy. When the trees tried to warn them of the danger that was coming, they could not make their quiet voices heard. Then they settled on a sign. You have perhaps read or heard of the Fiery Cross which used to be sent round to the different places in the Highlands to warn the clansmen that danger was near. The trees decided on a sign like that. They settled on a fire-signal, so that when the birds should see it they would be afraid, and would know that some form of danger was at hand. It was set burning at once inside the leaves, and so their colour appeared brown and red and gold.

The birds now asked what it all meant, and when they were told, they decided at once to seek the warm sunny climes of the lands of the South, till the voice of Spring should call them back again.

Is not that the meaning of the text? 'The stork in the heaven knoweth her appointed times, the turtle, and the crane, and the swallow, observe the time of their coming'—that is to say, when they see the signs of danger (for the winter cold is danger to their lives) they avoid it at once, and they never return till it is all past.

Now Jesus often taught people to be as wise as

the birds, and here God is saying that the birds are wise, though He adds sorrowfully, 'but my people know not the judgment of the Lord.' The birds take a warning when it is given, but boys and girls often think they know better and don't need it.

A wise man in the Old Testament wrote about 'the evil days' that are ahead of us. He said, 'Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth, while the evil days come not.' That is the chill of Winter he is meaning. He was thinking of

the temptations that lie before us all, and the dangers we may meet in life. We must prepare for them soon. We must not let our heart grow cold and loveless. We must not let the winter frost come over it. We should keep it warm with love to Christ. If we make Him our companion, and tell Him our troubles and our secret thoughts, we are taking the best way to ensure our happiness and to keep the warmth of Summer in our hearts. That is the message of the birds and the leaves in September for boys and girls.

The Calendar, the Sabbath, and the Marriage Law in the Geniza-Zadokite Documents.

BY THE REV. G. MARGOLIOUTH, M.A., BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON.

II. The Sabbath.

THE best method of treating this part of the subject will no doubt be to give, first of all, a translation of the passages relating to the Sabbath, accompanied by the necessary textual, linguistic, and expository notes, and then to compare this set of ordinances with those contained in the Book of Jubilees, as well as the Talmudic and other codifications of the Sabbath law.

(a) Translation of p. 10, l. 14, to p. 11, l. 18.¹ Concerning the Sabbath, to observe it in accordance with its law (or in its proper manner).²

1. No one shall do any work on the sixth day from the time when the disk of the sun³ shall be

¹ I adopt, for convenience' sake, Professor G. F. Moore's division of this part of the text into twenty small paragraphs (see *Harvard Theological Review*, July 1911, pp. 346-347), a division which is largely countenanced by the arrangement of the published Hebrew text.

² Evidently intended as a heading to what follows. The printed text exhibits a small break (presumably representing a corresponding break in the MS.) between this sentence and the laws themselves.

³ With גלגל השמש ('disk of the sun') compare the Talmudic גלגל חמה; but שמש being the more usual Biblical word for 'sun,' our document presents us with what would appear to be the ordinary designation, where the scholastic language of the Talmud preserves חמה, which is only used in poetry in Biblical Hebrew, and is therefore presumably archaic.

distant from the [western] portal⁴ by the width of its full orb;⁵ for this is [the meaning of] what he said 'Guard the Sabbath day to sanctify it (Dt 5¹²).

2. And no one shall utter vile and idle speech⁶ on the Sabbath day. One shall not lend ought to one's neighbour upon interest,⁷ nor shall one sit in judgment⁸ on matters of property or gain. One shall not converse about work or labour to be done the following morning.⁹

⁴ For the use of the term 'portal' in connexion with both the rising and the setting of the sun, see Enoch 72-82; and compare 'To the portals of the sunset' in Longfellow's *Hiawatha*.

⁵ So also Professor G. F. Moore ('by its diameter'), but with a sign of interrogation. A definition of the exact time at which work must cease is clearly expected, and מלואו ('its full orb' being just over the horizon) supplies the requisite definiteness.

⁶ By a singular error, Dr. Schechter joined ויק (pronouncing ויק) with the next sentence.

⁷ It is remarkable that in all the translations that have so far come to hand, אל ישה ברעיו is taken to mean that 'none shall demand a debt of his neighbour.' That the translation given here is correct can be easily seen from the use of the phrase in Dt 15² 24¹⁰ (comp. the use of the Qal in the same sense in Jer 15¹⁰). The exact force of כי יישה לך אלוה in Job 11⁶ is doubtful, and the difference in the construction (ל justification of ב) must also be taken into consideration.

⁸ Professor Kohler, 'Neither shall he discuss matters of business,' so also M. Lévi; but apparently without sufficient justification.

⁹ למשנים is used in this sense in *Mishnah Bikkurim*, iii. 2.

3. No one shall walk about¹ in the field for the purpose of doing the labour that is needful² for the Sabbath, nor shall one walk about³ outside one's city beyond [the limit of] a thousand cubits.⁴

4. No one shall eat on the Sabbath day except of that which had been prepared [before the Sabbath] or of that which is spoiling in the field.⁵ One shall not eat or drink except whilst in the camp.⁶ [If a man is] on a journey, and has gone down to bathe, he may drink whilst standing,⁷ but shall not draw water into any vessel.

5. One shall not send the son of a stranger⁸ to do one's business on the Sabbath day.

¹ So also M. Lévi ('se promener'), the Hithpael requiring this meaning.

² So also Lévi ('en travail nécessaire au Sabbat'). The word *חפץ* probably indicates that which is considered *desirable*, but the idea of that which is *necessary* may go with it, and seems to be required here. For a specified kind of such necessary and permissible labour see § 8, but the prohibition of this section relates not to the work itself, but to the use of it as an occasion for 'walking about' in the field for the mere sake of doing so, or for the purpose of lengthening out the needful task.

³ We here appear to have a prohibition directed against 'walking about' outside one's city except within the limits of 1000 cubits. For the extension of the limits to 2000 cubits for 'needful' purposes, see § 8. Here again the force of *יחלך* ('se promener') has to be taken fully into account, and no emendation of the 1000 into 2000 seems to be necessary.

⁴ Line 21 is corrupt. Judging by the construction of § 8, one should expect: *כי אם עד אלף באמה*.

⁵ Of *בשרה* ('in the field') only the ה is certain in the MS., 'whilst there is also a faint trace of the י' (Schechter). 'Spoiling' or 'perishing' is represented by *אובד*. Possibly, however, *עובר* ('prepared by labour') should be read; for though this word is mostly employed to denote the tanning of leather, it can also be used in a general sense.

⁶ This translation is not without difficulty, as the sentence would be much better without *היה*, unless one reads *הוא* instead. One should, perhaps, render 'except of that which was in the camp before,' implying a prohibition against bringing food or drink into the camp on the Sabbath day.

⁷ *על עמוד* appears to be an idiomatic phrase opposed to 'drawing drinking water into a vessel.' M. Lévi similarly, 'avec ses seules ressources.' Possibly, however, 'whilst dipping,' in accordance with the Syriac meaning of the root.

⁸ It may be that 'the son of the stranger' (*בן־דנוכר*) is here not meant to signify a heathen, but that, in allusion to Is 56^{3, 6}, it denotes a non-Israelite who had joined the Jewish community. If so, he would be identical with the גר or proselyte, who ranks fourth in the Damascus community, the first three ranks being held by the Priests, the Levites, and the Israelites respectively (see p. 14, ll. 2-6, of document A).

6. No one shall put on soiled garments,⁹ or . . . ,¹⁰ unless they were washed¹¹ with water or rubbed with frankincense.

7. No one shall voluntarily fast¹² on the Sabbath day.

8. No one shall go behind his cattle to pasture them outside his city beyond [the limits of] two thousand cubits.¹³ One shall not lift up one's hand to smite them with the fist. If an animal is stubborn, one shall not remove it out of the house.

9. No one shall carry anything out of the house to the outside, or from the outside into the house; and if he be in the entry,¹⁴ he shall not pass anything out or bring anything into it [*i.e.* the entry].¹⁵

10. No one shall open¹⁶ [the cover of] a glued vessel on the Sabbath.

11. No one shall carry on his person spices,¹⁷ going out and coming in [with them] on the Sabbath.

12. No one shall move¹⁸ in a dwelling-house¹⁹ rock or earth.

⁹ One should expect *יקח עליו*; *יבש* probably denotes 'putting on oneself' rather than 'using as a garment.'

¹⁰ With Dr. Kohler (*American Journal of Theology*, July 1911, p. 424), I prefer to leave here a blank. Possibly *בני* = 'in the midst' or 'within.' If so, a word after it denoting 'basket' has fallen out, and the prohibition would in that case apply, not only to garments that are themselves soiled or defiled, but also to such as had been mixed up with defiled articles of dress. Dr. Schechter emends *בני* = 'by a Gentile,' but the construction seems awkward, although ב can be used in an instrumental sense.

¹¹ Instead of *יבשו* one expects *יבשו*.

¹² Reading *יחרע* = 'shall not expose himself to hunger,' with M. Lévi and Dr. Kohler. Professor G. H. Moore, keeping *יחרע*, translates 'shall not exchange pledges,' with an additional note suggesting the prohibition of making an *ערב* (see the second part of the paper). The Hithpael of either *עירב* or *יחרע* can so far not be attested elsewhere. [After writing the above, Professor H. Gollancz (in conversation on the subject) suggested *יחרע*, which may well be accepted.]

¹³ For a note on the exact bearing of this prohibition, see further on the note on § 3.

¹⁴ Reading, with Dr. Schechter, *במבוי* (= Bibl. Hebr. *במבוא*), instead of *במבנה*; but see note (¹⁰).

¹⁵ *אליה* ('into it') having the fem. suffix, it must refer to a fem. noun. If, therefore, not an error for *אליה*, the form *במבנה* (see note (⁹)) will have to be regarded as a noun that was actually in use at the time.

¹⁶ For *פתח פתח* read *פתח*.

¹⁷ The usual Rabbinic pl. *סמנים* instead of *סמנים*. In Biblical Hebrew *סמים* (fem. *סם*) is used.

¹⁸ As Dr. Schechter points out, *יטול* appears to have here the force of *יטיל*. Both are found in Biblical Hebrew (see particularly Is 40¹⁵ 22¹⁷), but their use is much modified in later Hebrew.

¹⁹ So also M. Lévi ('une maison d'habitation'). Dr. Schechter corrects *מושב* into *השבת* ('the Sabbath day');

13. A male nurse¹ shall not carry an infant, going out and coming in [with it] on the Sabbath day.

14. No one shall provoke² his man-servant, or his maid-servant, or his hired workman³ on the Sabbath day.

15. No one shall deliver cattle of their young on the Sabbath day.

16. And if it fall into a pit or a ditch, one shall not lift it out on the Sabbath day.

17. No one shall spend the Sabbath⁴ in a place near the Gentiles.

18. No one shall profane⁵ the Sabbath for the sake of wealth or gain.

19. And any human being who falls into a gathering of water⁶ or into a place of . . . ,⁷ no one shall lift him up by means of a ladder, or rope, or implement.⁸

20. No one shall bring [anything] upon the altar on the Sabbath day except the Sabbath burnt-offering, for so it is written, 'Except your Sabbaths.'⁹

(δ) P. 12, ll. 3-6. And no one who shall go astray to profane the Sabbath and the festivals shall suffer the death penalty, but it is incumbent on men to keep him under surveillance; and if he shall desist¹⁰ therefrom, they shall keep him under

but there seems no need for the correction. The specification 'on the Sabbath day' is omitted in connexion with other prohibitions in the same section (see particularly Nos. 8 and 9 in this translation).

¹ One should have thought that a female nurse would be included in the prohibition; see the second part of this paper.

² Taking יצא to stand for יצא.

³ For שוכרו read שוכרו.

⁴ ישיבה is the form one expects instead of ישיבה, the latter form having the usual meaning of 'destroying' or 'disturbing' in the last line of p. 11.

⁵ The correction of יחל into יחלל (see Dr. Schechter's note) is not necessary, the Hiphil being used in the sense of 'profaning' in Ezk 39⁷.

⁶ Correcting, with Dr. Schechter, into מים מקוים.

⁷ A word has here clearly fallen out in the MS.

⁸ This seems to imply that a human being may be saved in the cases specified by unaided human effort (see *The Expositor* for December 1911, p. 515).

⁹ If the author here definitely referred to Lv 23³⁸, he must have interpreted the word מלבד there used to mean 'except' or 'save,' where in reality it means 'beside.' Possibly he was thinking of Jubilees 50¹⁰, where also the Sabbath is referred to in connexion with sacrifice. The quotation remains in any case rather puzzling.

¹⁰ Taking ירפה to stand for ירפה (for the frequent use of the root consult the Hebrew O.T. Concordances), more particularly so as in Jer 38⁴ מרפה is actually used for מרפה.

surveillance for seven years, and he may then come into the congregation.

(c) P. 11, l. 21 to p. 12, l. 1. This passage is very obscure, but an attempt must be made to translate it. Some remarks of its bearing will be given in the second part of this paper: 'And any one who enters the house of worship,¹¹ shall not enter [it] unclean [without] washing. And when the trumpets of the congregation shall sound, he shall either be beforehand or be later, so that they may not disturb the entire service, it is the holy Sabbath.'

*Comparison with other Forms of the Sabbath Law.*¹²

(a) P. 10, l. 14 sqq. On § 1. With regard to the cessation of work from the moment when the sun's disk begins to enter the horizon, it is possible that the sectaries accepted the definition of twilight (בין השמשות, = the time between the two suns, or rather between the sun and the moon) given by Rabbi in Talmud Yerusolmi, *Berākōth*, fol. 2^b: 'When the disk of the sun has begun to sink and the disk of the moon has begun to rise, that is twilight.' For other definitions see the same passage in Talm. Yerush., and also Talm. Bab. *Shabbath*, fol. 34^b. Anyhow, the addition of ordinary to sacred time by way of making 'a fence' round a command is an acknowledged principle both among the Rabbanites and the Karaites (see, e.g., the Karaite treatise *Gan Eden*, by Aaron b. Elijah, fol. 37^a, where the word שמור of Dt 5¹² is similarly interpreted; Talm. Bab. *Mo'ed Katan*, 5^a, where the general principle is enunciated in connexion with Lv 18³⁰).

On § 2. Dr. Schechter suggests that by 'vile and idle speech' not more is meant than רברי חול, i.e. ordinary topics of conversation (e.g. relating to business, gossip, etc.), but the terms used in this passage appear too strong for that. It is, on the other hand, difficult to accept the implied permission to use vile and idle speech on week-days, so that from this point of view Dr. Schechter's

¹¹ Literally, 'house of prostration'; comp. the Arabic مسجد ('Mosque'). As Dr. Schechter points out, the Falashas also use the term for their places of worship; but, as he remarks, 'it is never [apart from the Falasha communities] applied to a Jewish place of worship' (instead of his *never*, one might say *nowhere else*).

¹² There will be no attempt at furnishing exhaustive references in this part of the paper. The aim rather is to refer to striking analogies in a clear and sufficiently full form.

suggestion appears in a favourable light; and if he is right in this, the analogy which he adduces from the Talmudical tractate *Shabbath*, fol. 150^a, would hold good, for in that passage speech regarding business matters or work is forbidden (see also the end of § 2), the Biblical authority there referred to being Is 58¹³ ('nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking thine own words').

The 'vile and idle speech' seems, however, to find a closer analogy in the Falasha¹ Sabbath Commandments published, with a French translation by Halévi, under the title *Te'ezâza Sanbat*, where on p. 142 is found a prohibition not to utter 'des malédictions ou des blasphèmes.'

Remarkable also is the analogy with the following passage from the *Didascalia Apostolorum*, bk. vii. ch. xxxvi.: ὅπως μηδὲ λόγον τις ἐν ὄργῃ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ προέσθαι θελήσῃ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων.

On § 3. If the interpretation offered in a note on the translation be correct, our sectaries had a double limit of distances for walking out on the Sabbath, 2000 cubits having been allowed for needful purposes, and 1000 for mere promenading. No limit of distance is mentioned in Jubilees 50⁸ in connexion with the setting out on a journey, and it is possible that our manifesto supplies the details there lacking (comp. Dr. Charles' note on the verse in Jubilees). In Talmudical literature the distance of 2000 cubits alone is known.

On § 4. Regarding the previous preparation of food for the Sabbath day, compare Jubilees 50⁸ ('save what ye have prepared for yourselves on the sixth day, so as to eat, and drink, and rest, and keep Sabbath from all work on that day'); 2²⁹ (similar in purpose). Close is also the analogy with the Falasha ordinance (Halévi, p. 142): 'Ne vous servez pas de ce que vous n'avez pas préparé le sixième jour pour manger and pour boire ce jour-là.'

The ordinance is, of course, in full accord with Talmudic law (see Dr. Schechter *in loco*); the Biblical passage on which it is based being Ex 16⁵,

¹ On the Falashas, or Abyssinian Jews, see the article 'Falashas' in the *Jewish Encyclopædia*. Their exact relation to Jewry in general has, however, not yet been clearly determined. The portraits given in the *J.E.* article certainly suggest a very large non-Jewish admixture, to say the least of it. The possibility of an ultimate connexion with the ancient Jewish colony of Elephantinë is not excluded, but, if so, inter-marriage with negroid races on a large scale must be assumed.

but in the manner of insisting on it the analogy with Jubilees and Falasha law is much closer.

If the suggestion made in a note on the translation that עובר 'prepared by labour' should be read, were accepted, an interesting parallel might be adduced from Mt 12¹, Mk 2²³, Lk 6¹, where the plucking of the corn-ears, which the Pharisees held to be forbidden, would not have been 'prepared by labour,' inasmuch as plucking with the hand on the Sabbath day was the point in question. There is also a close likeness between the last clause of § 4 and Jubilees 2²⁹ 50⁸ (*q.v.*).

On § 5. If the interpretation of בן־הנכר suggested in the note on the translation be accepted, there would here be no clashing with Talmudic law. If, on the other hand, a heathen is meant by 'the son of the stranger,' the difference between the lenient view of Talmudical ordinance (as practised in orthodox Jewish circles down to the present day) and the prohibition of the employment of Gentile labour in the manifesto would be very marked.

On § 6. The meaning of the prohibition seems to be 'that working-day garments which are either dirty or have an offensive odour should not be worn on the Sabbath' (Dr. Kohler, *in loco*, who also rightly compares the general Talmudical rule regarding special decency of Sabbath garments, to be found in *Shabbath*, fol. 113^a).

On § 7. That fasting and nothing else is here meant seems clear from the presence of the same prohibition in Jubilees 50¹²; compare also the Falasha law (Halévi, p. 143): 'Celui qui jeûne le jour de Sabbat mourra.' Talmudic law is, of course, in full accord with the general principle, the pleasures of the table being a necessary part of Sabbath enjoyment; but in the manner of insisting on it the analogy with Jubilees and *Te'ezâza Sanbat* is striking.

The idea that the prohibition of making the fictitious juncture of property and distances by means of an ערוב is here meant is hardly likely. The qualification מרצוני (voluntarily) would, to begin with, be without meaning in that case. On the 2000 cubits of § 8 see the remarks on § 3.

In the latter part of § 8 the removal of a beast out of the house is declared to be prohibited equally with the removal of other objects spoken of in § 9. The analogy with Jubilees 2²⁹, suggested by Dr. Schechter and M. Lévi, cannot be insisted on, as no cattle is specifically mentioned there.

On § 9. The prohibition of transferring anything from the house to the outside, and *vice versa*, is one of the topics much discussed in the Talmudical tractate *Shabbath* (see particularly the Mishnah of *Shabbath* vii. 2, where such an act is declared to be one of the thirty-nine leading kinds of work (אבות מלאכות) that are forbidden on the Sabbath. But all the same the form of the prohibition in our manifesto reminds one strongly of Jubilees 2³⁰ 50⁸ (q.v.), as well as of the Falasha law (Halévi, p. 142) against a person, 'qui fait sortir quelque chose de sa tente, ou y apporte quelque chose du dehors' (on the difference between the rigour of the punishment in Jubilees and *T'ezâza Sanbat* on the one hand, and our manifesto on the other, see farther on). An interesting reference may be made to Jn 5¹⁰ ('It is the Sabbath day: it is not lawful for thee to carry thy bed'); cf. Neh 13¹⁹.

On § 10. That the Talmudic law inclined very much to mildness in a matter of this kind can be seen from the different cases discussed in *Shabbath*, fol. 146^a (from the Mishnah given on the page mentioned, it would appear to follow that in a case like that of our § 10 it would have been forbidden to make a hole in the fastening, but not to take off the glued cover in its entirety), for further references see Dr. Schechter, *in loco* (the Karaites agree with the prohibition of the manifesto).

On § 11. A similar prohibition is found in Mishnah *Shabbath*, v. 5.

On § 12. No exact parallel can so far be adduced, though the prohibition is, of course, in full accord with the spirit of both the Talmudic and other forms of law. It is possible that in the Falasha ordinances the words 'celui qui porte (?)' (Halévi, p. 142) have a bearing on this prohibition.

On § 13. Interesting is the following passage from Mishnah *Shabbath*, xviii. 2: 'A woman may push along her son. Said Rabbi Yehūdah, This is only permitted when the child lifts up one foot and sets down the other (*i.e.* when it moves along in the ordinary manner of walking); but it is forbidden, if the child is being dragged.' It is questionable, however, whether the two passages are as closely related to each other as Dr. Schechter and others suppose. In the Mishnah quoted, there seems to be no reference to moving from the house to the outside, and *vice versa*, whereas here the 'going in and coming out' is expressly mentioned.—The fact, on the other

hand, that in the Mishnah 'a woman' is the subject of the prohibition, whilst here it is 'a male nurse,' need not denote contrariety, for אומן may possibly be intended to mean a nurse in general, and the express reference to woman in the Mishnah can only have been made on account of the greater frequency in confiding a child to the care of its mother.

On § 14. Nothing exactly analogous seems to be at hand elsewhere, though the quotations from the *Didascalía* and the *T'ezâza Sanbat* given in the remarks on § 2 may fairly be taken to cover this prohibition also.

On § 15. There is an identical prohibition with regard to festival days in Mishnah *Shabbath*, xviii. 3, and the same law must apply to the Sabbath on the *a fortiori* (or קל וחמר) principle. The Mishnah adds that the assistance referred to may be given in the case of a woman even on the Sabbath, and the inference to be drawn from the wording of the manifesto also points to permission in the case of a woman.

On § 16. Compare the much milder treatment recommended in *Shabbath*, fol. 128^b: 'If a beast has fallen into a cistern of water, we should bring bolsters and pillows and put them under it; if it then rises out of it, well and good.'

On § 17. On the similar enactment obtaining among the Samaritans and the Karaites, see L. Wreschner, *Samaritanische Traditionen*, pp. 13–15, where the prohibition is quoted from the Samaritan author Abu'l-Faraj Munajja on the one hand, and from Anan, the founder of Karaism on the other.

On § 18. This prohibition may be brought into relation with Jubilees 50⁸, when setting out on a journey 'in regard to any buying or selling' is forbidden.

On § 19. The inference, as was mentioned in the note on the translation, must be that unaided human effort may be employed to save a human being in the case specified. Talmudic law, on the other hand, is much less severe, decreeing that danger to human life overrides Sabbath law (for the references see Drs. Schechter and Kohler, *in loco*), so that necessary implements could be used.

On § 20. The 'Sabbath burnt-offering' may, of course, be taken to include the 'continual burnt-offering' which formed part of the Sabbath Temple worship (see Nu 28^{9, 10}).

(b) On p. 12, ll. 3–6. It is important to note that both in Jubilees and *T'ezâza Sanbat* the

penalty for profaning the Sabbath is death, and that the severe sentence is in both works often repeated by way of special emphasis. This is, of course, in agreement with the original Pentateuchal law (see, *e.g.*, Ex 31^{14,15}). In Nu 15³²⁻³⁶ an instance of stoning for gathering sticks on the Sabbath day is actually recorded. In the Mishnah, however, the death-penalty for such offences no longer appears, and it is particularly remarkable that, notwithstanding the close affinity of our manifesto with the severer Sabbath laws of Jubilees and the Falashas, the death-penalty is definitely ruled out.—Another point to be noted is that the Hebrew word which in the translation here given is rendered ‘surveillance’ is taken from Nu 15³⁴ (‘put him in *ward*’), as if to emphasize the fact that the death-penalty recorded in that passage is abrogated, so that only the ordinance of משמר (‘ward’) remains.

(c) On p. 11, ll. 21 sqq. The sounding of trumpets for the purpose of making known to the people when they were to leave off work is mentioned in *Mishnah Sukkah*, v. 5, and Josephus, *Wars*, bk iv. ix. 12.—It may be that the being

‘beforehand or later’ refers to the person who had been unclean, and that he is enjoined—in the case of his regaining ceremonial purification just about the beginning of the Sabbath—not to come in with the rest of the congregation, but to enter either before or after in order not to cause a kind of uneasiness among those who may have known of his ceremonial uncleanness, but who may not be aware of his purification in time for the beginning of the Sabbath.

Additional Note.—The present article was finished before the appearance of Dr. Charles’ *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*, and it has not been considered either necessary or convenient to institute a comparison between the translation and interpretation given here and the translation and notes contained in the work named. Nor had the rendering of Lagrange reached the present writer whilst preparing the article.

Thanks are due to the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press for permission to publish in these articles portions of fresh renderings from their copyright edition of the Hebrew text.

Literature.

SIR HENRY VANE THE YOUNGER.

MOST of us are familiar with the name of Sir Henry Vane from our school studies in Milton. This is Milton’s sonnet:

Vane, young in years, but in sage counsel old,
Than whom a better senator ne’er held
The helm of Rome, when gowns not arms
repell’d
The fierce Epirot and the African bold,
Whether to settle peace or to unfold
The drift of hollow states, hard to be spell’d;
Then to advise how war may, best upheld,
Move by her two main nerves, iron and gold
In all her equipage: besides to know
Both spiritual power and civil, what each means,
What severs each, thou hast learn’d, which few
have done:
The bounds of either sword to thee we owe;
Therefore on thy firm hand Religion leans
In peace, and reckons thee her eldest son.

The sonnet itself is of extreme interest. Here is the story of it. The sonnet to Vane was not published in Milton’s lifetime, but was, as already mentioned, written by him and sent direct to Vane himself. In 1662, the year of the latter’s death, when Sikes published his biography, it was not safe to mention Milton’s name as that of an admirer of the republican hero, and so the author of the sonnet is merely described as a ‘learned gentleman.’ A collected edition of Milton’s minor poems was issued in 1673, but four of his sonnets were omitted from them—that to Vane and those to Cromwell and Fairfax, along with that to Cyriac Skinner in which the poet speaks with satisfaction of his *Pro populo Anglicano defensio*. These four sonnets were first published after the Revolution in 1694. They appeared, very incorrectly printed, at the end of Philips’s *Life of Milton* prefixed to the translation into English of Milton’s public letters. They are also inserted by Toland in his *Life of Milton* (1698). Tonson omitted them in

his editions of Milton's poems, published in 1695 and 1705, but inserted them in the edition which he brought out in 1713. It is a striking testimony to the intense unpopularity which the republican movement evoked that these noble poetical compositions of its laureate should not have been allowed to appear in his collected works until about sixty years after they had been written.

But interesting as the story of Milton's sonnet is, it is not so interesting as the story of Vane himself. The sonnet, the history of the sonnet, and the biography of Vane will all be found in the *Life of Sir Henry Vane the Younger*, written by the Rev. John Willcock, M.A., D.D., and published by the Saint Catherine Press, Norfolk Street, Strand, London (10s. net). It is the fourth great biography of which Dr. Willcock is the author; and much as we have enjoyed the other three, it is the most delightful of them all. The author has steadily advanced in the knowledge of his craft; and the hero this time, if less romantic than the Earls of Argyll, presents more problems to the student of human nature. In these days of psychological study, he is more psychologically perplexing. Add to this the great field of his activity and the great men, like Cromwell, whom his story introduces us to, and the deeper interest of the book is explained.

THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF ISLAM.

The first volume has been issued of *The Encyclopædia of Islam* (Luzac; 65s. net). It is an immense volume of 1085 pages, yet it carries the work down only to the end of D., which means that four such volumes will be required to complete it. This volume, though the first, is issued without a word of introduction. There is no preface, no list of abbreviations used, no names of authors contributing. After the title-page it starts straight away with its first word AARON.

But it is a great book. The authors, though unnamed in the beginning, have their names appended to their articles, and they are a band of whom any editor might be proud. There are, however, four editors—Professor Houtsma, Dr. T. W. Arnold, Professor René Basset, and Dr. R. Hartmann—a Dutchman, an Englishman, a Frenchman, and a German. And if we are not mistaken, the encyclopædia is issued in all these languages.

Everything that belongs to Islam is in it. Not the Muslim religion only, but also the geography, ethnography, biography, and whatever else is in any way associated with the faith of Islam. Often the articles are definitions, pure and simple, and occupy only a line. Sometimes they run to many close-printed double-columned pages. The article on Cairo, for example, runs from page 815 to page 826. And an admirable article it is, full of matter well digested and clearly expressed. There is also a fine historical plan of the city in the heart of the article.

The illustrations are not numerous, but they are good, and they have been carefully printed on specially prepared paper. The most valuable are those which illustrate Arabic writing. They are found in the article on 'Arabia.' This article is divided into six parts: (1) Topography, Climate, Products (unsigned), (2) Ethnology (by de Goeje), (3) History before Islam (by Hommel), (4) Arabic Writing (by Moritz), (5) Arabic Language (by Schaade and Kampffmeyer), and (6) Arabic Literature (by Brockelmann). The article extends altogether from page 367 to page 416 and contains ten plates of illustrations.

The value of an encyclopædia lies largely in its accuracy; and that can be tested only by use. But we can say at once that both authors and editors inspire confidence.

THE MASTER.

Those who open a book which the Rev. J. Todd Ferrier has published, through Messrs. Percy Lund, under the impression that because its title is *The Master, His Life and Teachings* (7s. 6d. net), they are offered a new Life of Christ, will meet with a surprise. The surprise may be joyful or painful, but it will be a surprise. The whole story of the Life of Christ, as it is found in the Gospels, is spiritualized. One example will be as good as fifty.

'What was the Patriarch's Well beside which the Christ-Soul sat Him down to rest His awful weariness? The reader will have gathered from what we have said that even this part of the story is not to be understood literally. He will understand that it is not ordinary history, and that the events were not such as would seem to be indicated by a literal reading of the story. The apparently local relationships were really planetary, and those things

which seem to have been material were spiritual in their nature. Through the materialization of them the beautiful terms lost their spiritual significations. And thus it came about that experiences which were born of the tragic Sin-offering were made to relate to persons and physical things. The One who was weary with His journey through the land was understood to be Jesus. The country wherein He journeyed was related to a little part of Palestine. The Well at which He sat was turned into an ancient spring of water. The parcel of ground on which the Well was situated, and which was believed to have been given by the Patriarch Jacob, was presented as a small portion of the country known as Samaria. And so the material veil hid all the wonderful meanings. The outward took the place of the inward; the physical was understood where only spiritual things were meant; the local and personal colouring was made to obscure things that were planetary, and thus all the events were made to appear in the light of an ordinary experience in the life of the Master.'

What *was* Jacob's well, then?

'When we seek for the true meaning of the Patriarch's Well we have to seek in a region other than geographical; and we have to seek for a Well whose waters are not those which are drunk of for physical refreshment. We have to pass from the domain of the physical to that of the spiritual, from the geographical situation to the planetary state when the land of Samaria, or the watch-tower, formed a part of its heavens. For the parcel of ground which is supposed to have been given by the Patriarch Jacob to his son Joseph was none other than the intermediary heavens between the more outward spheres of the Soul and the angelic kingdom. It was the first heaven into which the Soul entered on her way to the angelic world. It was the country of the Soul into which she entered first as she passed from the outer spheres upward towards the realization of the angelic life.'

This method of interpretation, we say, is carried throughout the book. It is the book. 'The City of Sychar was the spiritual state in which the Soul is drunken with the wines of the sense-life.' And so on. Accordingly, Mr. Todd Ferrier begins by asking the questions: 'Was there ever such a manifestation of Christhood as the Western World believes to have been made nineteen centuries ago? Did Jesus live as a man upon the outer spheres of this world; and if so, was He

the one through whom the Christhood was made manifest?' To these questions the book is an answer. We have striven hard to see the superiority of its answer over the more familiar and literal one. That bare historic fact does not exhaust Christ, we believe. That the spirit is life, we believe. But Mr. Todd Ferrier leaps over the literal into the impenetrable and unfathomable. We have tried to follow him, but we have not found him. And, much worse, we have not found Christ.

Messrs. G. Bell & Sons have published an English translation, made by Margery Bentwich, of Dr. Arthur Rupp's *The Jews of To-day* (6s. net). In an Introduction which Dr. Joseph Jacobs has written to the book, we are told that there is a problem regarding the Jews which Dr. Rupp has set himself to answer. This is the problem: 'When the walls of the Ghetto fell some fifty years ago the admission of the Jews into modern society on comparatively equal terms raised the question how far their distinctive characteristics—intellectual, cultural, religious, and the rest—would survive the contact with modern culture, from which repressive legislation had hitherto restrained them. Would they, could they, be assimilated into modern European culture and still remain Jews in the characteristics they had retained throughout the Christian ages?'

Dr. Rupp answers that question with a decisive No.

But Dr. Jacobs differs from him; and he writes his Introduction chiefly to combat the conclusion, and answers decisively Yes. When such doctors differ, how shall the mere layman choose?

But the book, with all that problem to solve, is a history of modern Judaism. And a most useful history it is. For within quite moderate compass we have in excellent English a clear account of what the Jews are doing in all lands, what their movements have been, what their future is likely to be.

Tatian, in the second century, broke up and intermixed the four gospels so as to make one continuous and readable gospel 'out of,' or 'through,' the 'four.' In Greek, 'through' is *dia*, and 'four' is *tessaron*. Hence the name of the Harmony, Diatessaron.

Dr. Edwin A. Abbott has determined to publish

a new Diatessaron. To that end he has already written nine preliminary studies under the title of 'Diatessarica.' Now he has issued the Introduction to his Diatessaron itself. He uses, however, the modern phrase 'Fourfold Gospel.' Thus the title of this book is *The Fourfold Gospel; Section I: Introduction* (Cambridge: At the University Press; 2s. 6d. net).

The contents are, as the title tells us, introductory to a study of the four Gospels together. They discuss chiefly the questions, which Gospel should stand first? and what is the order and arrangement in each Gospel? The discussion is characterized by the ripest scholarship as well as the most attractive English style. However unlikely may be the subject of study, Dr. Abbott always throws round it the glamour of romance, and yet he never deviates from the strictest examination of fact. This is a great achievement. It places this book among Dr. Abbott's other books, and makes the whole series stand out beyond other work on the Gospels as quite unique in our time.

Part of the charm is due to the author's frankness. Take as an example what he says about the trustworthiness of the Fourth Gospel. 'Comparing the present volume with my articles on the Gospels in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* (1901) and in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1880) and with the earliest Parts of Diatessarica, I find that the Fourth Gospel, in spite of its poetic nature, is closer to history than I had supposed. The study of it, and especially of those passages where it intervenes to explain expressions in Mark altered or omitted by Luke, appears to me to throw new light on the words, acts, and purposes of Christ, and to give increased weight to His claims on our faith and worship.'

Mr. William Walter Cannon has edited *The Song of Songs* 'as a Dramatic Poem' (Cambridge: At the University Press; 7s. 6d. net). He takes it frankly and unreservedly as a secular writing, the best and greatest of all the secular songs which the Bible contains. It is a work of art; but the Hebrew never attained to the conception of 'art for art's sake.' He wrote for a purpose; if not a religious, then an ethical purpose. And the Song of Songs was written to glorify the purity of true love.

Mr. Cannon follows Oettli more closely than

any other editor. That is to say, he separates the Song into Acts and Scenes, introduces Solomon, the Ladies of the Court, the Shulamite herself, the true Lover, the Poet, and others as actors, and offers us a lyrical drama, not without difficulty, but always with enjoyment.

The principles he has worked on are these four:—

(1) To interpret the work *as a whole*, using every part to explain every other part, and taking careful note of repetitions and variations of phrase. (2) To interpret the work *as it stands*, and not, in the desire to maintain a theory, to make it into something else by conjectural emendation. (3) To interpret with as much *simplicity* as possible and to avoid elaborate and far-fetched theories based on slight indications. (4) To interpret without regard to *metrical theories*.

The most doubtful expedient is the introduction of a Court Lady to speak the words which seem to us so sensual in the seventh chapter. Are they so sensual—to the poet? We doubt it. And the introduction of this lady is as unpleasant an expedient as it is unnecessary. Moreover, it is most unlikely that a Court lady would so describe a rival's charms.

Without doubt this is the most scholarly and, for the student of the Song, the most useful commentary in English. The whole history of the interpretation of the Song is given in the Introduction; the translation is always good, often most happy; and in the excursuses the greater difficulties and disputes are discussed in detail.

The General Editor of the 'Short Course' series has obtained a volume from the Rev. D. J. Burrell, D.D., LL.D. *In the Upper Room* is the title—a practical exposition of John xiii.-xvii. (T. & T. Clark; 2s. net). It is the best work that Dr. Burrell has done. It is the most accurate and the most thoughtful work. Beyond all his volumes of sermons, and they are very many, this volume is sincere and unrhethorical.

The Rev. J. R. Fleming, B.D., has told the story of the Presbyterian Church in all lands, 'mainly for young people,' in a volume entitled *The Burning Bush* (T. & T. Clark; 1s. 6d. net). It is a book of probably quite surprising, certainly quite unmistakable, interest. The saying is often heard that the best part of a service is the children's part. This

book, written for children (though not perhaps quite young children), is better reading for us all than if it had been written for us. The style is at once simple and suitable; the matter is accurate and intelligible; the tone is natural and worshipful. Not a young person in any Church but will enjoy the book, for it reads like a romance. And not one but will profit by it, for there is not a narrow or narrowing sentence in it.

Professor C. A. Briggs had passed his book on the Creeds for press before his last illness overtook him. Its title is *The Fundamental Christian Faith* (T. & T. Clark; 6s. net), but it is more fully described on the title-page as giving the Origin, History, and Interpretation of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds. Like the rest of us, Professor Briggs was troubled with the question of authority. Two extremes were to be avoided, the 'reactionary tendency,' as he calls it, which insists upon the whole doctrine of the Confessions of Faith of the seventeenth century, and the 'radical tendency,' which would do away with all credal statements, and construct an eclectic, syncretistic theology out of a comparative study of all Religions and in the form of recent undigested philosophical speculations.' Between these there is a wholesome Irenic tendency which seeks to reunite the separated Churches on the basis of the fundamental principles of Historical Christianity, without intruding upon denominational preferences, or private opinion in other matters. These principles of Faith are to be found in the ancient Creeds, the official expression of the Faith of the ancient Church, to which all Churches which are legitimate descendants of Historical Christianity adhere.

Are we to accept the Creeds as they stand, then? Well, not quite, but nearly. And it is a wonder to those who have known Professor Briggs as an Old Testament critic to find him here so tender with the criticism of the Creeds. He is, in fact, content with them. All he desires is to understand them in their original meaning.

And so the clause, 'He descended into Hell,' which Professor Loofs has subjected to such searching yet reverent criticism in his great article in THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS, is received with meekness by Professor Briggs as an accurate rendering of New Testament teaching and an integral part of the Faith.

It is nothing new for the Society of Friends to take an interest in the welfare of Society. What other body of Christian people has done or suffered more for righteousness between man and man? Mr. Joshua Rowntree had the right to choose *Social Service*, as the subject of his Swarthmore Lecture (Headley Brothers; 1s. net). And in describing its place in the Society of Friends, he speaks to all the world with interest and with authority. Slowly but surely we are coming round to the ideas of the Society, and seeking now to realize its ideals.

In a volume of sermons entitled *The Pledges of His Love* (Kelly; 1s. 6d. net), the Rev. Ebenezer Johns Ives brings out accurately and evangelically 'the Leading Ideas of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.' In a beautiful 'Foreword,' Professor George Jackson says that 'in these quiet pages there is much that is helpful and suggestive,' and that 'for all who love Him this book has its message whensoever they meet to keep the Lord's trust.' It is quite true. 'Quiet pages' is the right word.

Have you observed that in the Protestant Churches there is a revival of interest in the Church and in its history? Dr. Denney has said, 'It is rare to find a Protestant enthusiastic about his Church.' The time is surely coming when his Church will mean something to the Protestant, not the best thing, but the next. And then the history of the Church will be studied again.

In that revived study the Rev. William Ernest Beet, M.A., will be recognized as a pioneer. Quite recently he wrote a book on the Rise of the Episcopacy, which has done well, proving at once the worth of the book and the existence of an audience. He has now published *The Early Roman Episcopate to A.D. 384* (Kelly; 3s. 6d. net). And in the new book we have the same elements which made the first book popular— independent work and independent judgment, a vision of essentials, and the necessary command of appropriate language.

Mr. J. Hay Colligan, M.A., has written a history of *The Arian Movement in England*, and it is published in Manchester at the University Press as the second of the theological series of publications of that University.

Though the author has an end in view, which is

the unity of the Churches in this land in one great National Church, his work is as purely historical, as little influenced by 'ends,' as any work can be. From step to step he walks with the movement he has undertaken to describe, recalling a vast number of names, and tracing a perpetually changing series of doctrinal developments. And all the while he conceals his own position, so objectively historical is he, till, as the very last sentence in the book, there come the words: 'If His own claim as the Son of God is to be accepted everywhere, by all, and for all time, it will have to be confirmed, not by a mere intellectual apprehension of the facts relating to His life, but by an inward consciousness that He is our Lord and our God,—a vision which flesh and blood cannot reveal unto us.'

Not as a book for a quiet fireside perusal, but as a repository of facts bearing upon a little-studied movement in English theology, the book is most welcome.

'Tell us a story, please!' And the Rev. John Stephenson tells it. His book of Children's Addresses is called *Nuggets of Gold for the Young Folk* (Meyer; 1s. net). It is full of stories. Nor does Mr. Stephenson attempt to appease a bad conscience by drawing their moral. He has no bad conscience. They carry their moral with them, for they are such stories as transcribe actual life typically.

There is a fine encouraging air of optimism blowing through all the writings of Mr. T. R. Glover. It is felt strongly and refreshingly in his latest book, the *Angus Lectures for 1912*. The object of the book, which is called *The Christian*

Tradition and its Verification (Methuen; 3s. 6d. net), is to commend Christianity in all its essential features to the modern mind. In all its essential features, for in spite of his title Mr. Glover is not a 'traditionalist.' To him as to all Protestants the Christian tradition is subject to criticism. He respects the past, its great minds, its spiritual guidance, but he does not permit the past to bind the hands and feet of the present. He criticises the Christian tradition, or, as he prefers to say, verifies it. He lets some of the things go silently to which our fathers held tenaciously; he holds tenaciously to the rest because it has been verified in other men's experience, and especially because it has been verified in his own.

And his Christianity, thus verified, is no mean product of life and thought. It is a great religion. Many-sided and true, it touches men in all their aspirations and in all their despairs. It uplifts, enlightens, purifies. It makes fit for the inheritance of the saints in light.

We thank Mr. Glover for his optimism about the Christian tradition—not because it is optimism, but because it is verifiable. In such a time as this, his spiritual breeziness is a tonic. We need bracing. His books, and this book above all his books, will brace us to be and to do.

His method is to face the facts and make us face the facts with him. To know what Christianity is, that is to accept Christianity as the religion for us. And he recommends us to do four things to that end: first, to read the Gospels, next, to exercise the historical imagination; then, to cultivate sympathy with the fundamental ideas and feelings of Jesus Christ; and, finally, to know our own insufficiency.

What were the Churches of Galatia?

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IX.

3. *A Disputed Case*.—An inscription of Bithynia (*Athen. Mittheil.* xii. p. 182) has caused much difficulty and many errors. The matter is complicated and technical; but it has led to so much misinterpretation and false doctrine, which has

spread far and been repeated by distinguished and honoured scholars, that I am forced to treat it in some detail. In this inscription the title 'procurator of Galatia and the adjoining provinces' (ἐπίτροπος Γαλατίας καὶ τῶν σὺνέγγυς

ἐθνῶν) is mentioned. What is this procurator's sphere of duty? And what is the force of ἐθνῶν here?

As to the sphere of duty, the inscription must be classed with *C.I.L.* iii. 6753 (quoted above, (1) of this section), in which a procurator of all the provinces of Asia Minor is mentioned. That such is the right interpretation of the Bithynian inscription is proved by the analogy of *C.I.L.* iii. 6994, 'procurator throughout Asia and the adjoining provinces' (*per Asiam et adhaerentes provincias*). These two titles are equivalents, Greek and Latin. It seems hardly comprehensible that any doubt should be felt on this point; yet many have classed the sense of 'Galatia' in this Bithynian inscription with the Eastern type, and have understood that it describes a procurator of North Galatia and the adjoining provinces Lycaonia, Pisidia, Phrygia, Pontus, etc. They infer that these countries are here called provinces, and that they must therefore have been organized as separate unities from North Galatia, and were never united with it in one province, but remained distinct, though placed, like Lycia and Pamphylia, under one governor. This would imply that the single name Galatia was only a pure blunder, and that there did not exist a single province bearing that name. I know not merely from published sources, but also from private letters, how much this single inscription influenced the mind of respected scholars. It has produced the title which in the Index to *C.I.L.* iii. p. 2459 is applied to the province Galatia,¹ viz. '*Galatia adiunctaeque Provinciae*': this title will probably be quoted henceforth by those who do not investigate authorities as if it were authoritative and ancient, whereas it is the offspring of a modern mistranslation. In the article 'Galatia' in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Encycl.* iii. p. 550, Dr. Brandis (who champions the North-Galatian view) asks triumphantly, 'if Galatia here means the whole great Roman province, was bedeuten dann τὰ σύνεγγυς ἔθνη?' The reply is so obvious that one marvels how Dr. Brandis missed it: τὰ σύνεγγυς ἔθνη has the same meaning as *adhaerentes provinciae* in *C.I.L.* iii. 6994 (quoted above).² That a

procurator might administer the Emperor's interests over many provinces is well known, and is acknowledged by Dr. Brandis himself in another page of the same article, 555. In the Bithynian inscription Galatia and the adjoining provinces are combined under one procurator. As Galatia was nearest to Claudiopolis and in closest relations with that city, it is mentioned first and the other provinces are summed up as 'adjoining'; whereas in iii. 6994, 6753, Asia, the most generally familiar, is mentioned first, and the other provinces are 'adjoining.' Similar enumerations of provinces associated with Galatia occur in *C.I.L.* x. 7853 and 7854 add. which are almost duplicates, erected to the same person.³

Next, as to the sense of ἔθνη in this Bithynian inscription, I fully agree with Dr. Brandis and the Index-maker of *C.I.L.* iii., that the word should probably be interpreted as 'provinces.'⁴ It must, however, be remembered, that in the third century ἔθνη came to be used as designating the regions or nations of a great composite province, such as Asia: an example is quoted in the present section at the end of 2. If those scholars persist in understanding Γαλατία καὶ τὰ σύνεγγυς ἔθνη as meaning North Galatia together with Lycaonia, Phrygia, Pisidia, Paphlagonia, etc., then they would have to take ἔθνη in this third-century sense, and regard the whole expression as a shortened form of type 2, the regions of the great province. But to me the analogies quoted above are conclusive.

I may add that another use of ἔθνη occurs in inscriptions, where the πόλεις of the province Asia are distinguished from the δῆμοι and the ἔθνη. Dr. Brandis in Pauly-Wissowa ii. 2, 1556 f., interprets this in a sense which Rostowzew rejects in his *Stud. z. Gesch. d. röm. Kolonats*, 1910, p. 262; and we need not enter on the subject (except to say that the latter, one of the most illuminative and accurate of modern writers on the economic organization of the Empire, had before him Dr. Brandis's state-

quoted from him by O. Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamten*, p. 292. 2: (1) Italia; (2) Transpadanum; (3) Galliae, Britannia, Hispaniae, Germaniae, Raetia; (4) Asia, etc.

³ Yet in 7853 Pamphylia is omitted, and in 7854 Asia is omitted. In a long list of this kind, where not strict accuracy, but rather the effect of an imposing series of names, is aimed at, the omission of one name makes little difference. Phrygia is added in this list, as being a very important procuratorial field: a list of *procuratores Phrygiae* is given in my article in *Mélanges d'Arch.* 1882, p. 8.

⁴ See the examples quoted in the present Section under 2.

¹ On p. 2466 of the same Index the province is rightly styled Galatia simply.

² In the case of the *proc. fam. glad.* the following combinations of districts subject to the same procurator are mentioned by Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, ii. p. 1071, 2, and

ment, and was forced by the evidence to take a totally different view).

4. *Lukan and Pauline names for the province.*—St. Paul, as a Roman citizen, and as thoroughly Roman in his way of classifying and organizing, uses the Roman name: to him the province is Galatia. Luke, as a Hellene, follows the fashion of the Greek East: he avoids the name Galatia, and thinks of the great province by its regions. He mentions only the three regions that touch his subject, Pisidia, Phrygia, and Lycaonia; but he acknowledges their provincial relation by adding once in each case the epithet 'Galatic.' The Hellenes, as we know at Iconium (see above in this Section under 1), admitted the name 'Galatic province'; and Ptolemy with numerous Anatolian inscriptions attaches the same epithet to Pontus as a region of the province.¹ One who looks at the evidence with any true geographical perception will recognize from chs. 13, 14 alone that Luke regards the regions as we know them in the province, and from 16⁶, 18²³, that he is careful to state their position in it. This was pointed out very briefly in my *Comm. on Galatians*, p. 314; but it seems necessary to fight for every foot of ground. No North-Galatian attends to a brief statement. To Luke, probably, the group of the four churches would rank as 'Churches of the Two Galatic Regions' or 'Galatic Churches,' but he would not use the Pauline term 'Churches of Galatia.'

5. *Meaning of the term Galatic.*—Another indefensible blunder must here be mentioned, as it is frequently repeated and appears even in Dr. Brandis's article, p. 517 f.: I have vainly protested against it,² and must now in a word repeat the exposure. In Arrian, *Anab.* ii. 2, 7, the words ἐπὶ Ἀγκύρας τῆς Γαλατικῆς do not mean 'Ancyra of the Galatica (country),' but 'Ancyra the Galatic (as distinguished from the Phrygiac': compare Strabo, p. 567. No case is known to me in which Galatic as a geographical or classificatory term means anything except 'belonging to the land, or more commonly the province Galatia.'

¹ The epithet Galatic continued to be attached to this part of Pontus, even after it was attached to the province Cappadocia (as it was from about A.D. 107 onwards). The division into *regiones* continued to exist.

² *Hist. Comm. on Galatians*, p. 316. Moreover, the country was not Galatian in the time of the events which Arrian records, but became so years afterwards (*Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 80 n., 2nd ed.).

In other cases the adjective Γαλατικός means 'belonging to, or characteristic of, Gauls': e.g. ἔργα Γαλατικά, 'brutal deeds such as the Gauls do,' but doubtless 'deeds done by the Gauls' would be ἔργα τῶν Γαλατῶν. There is much need for a study, careful and thorough, of the use of adjectives in -ικός and -ιακός derived from names of people and countries. For example, Cicero has *Pompeiani Achaici*, 'Pompeian troops from the province Achaia,' but *Pompeiani ex Asia ex Africa*, 'Pompeians from the provinces Asia and Africa' (Att. xi. 15. 1).

Accordingly, the adjective Galatic means 'associated with or belonging to Galatia,' χώρα Γαλατική a region which belongs to Galatia, but Γαλατική is not used as a noun equivalent to Γαλατία, though πόλις Γαλατική can quite properly mean a city inhabited by Galatae.

The wide sense of the adjective appears in Plutarch *Caes.* 7, where the vast province or set of provinces given to Caesar in 59 B.C. (including Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul and Illyricum) is called Γαλατική ἐπαρχία. Appian, *Hann.* 7, uses Ἰταλία Γαλατική for Cisalpine Gaul.

We may also quote some analogous cases: *legio Germanica*, *milites Germanici*, denote troops of Roman citizens stationed in Germany: *cohors Germanorum*, if it occurred, would mean a squadron raised among the peoples of Germania (so *coh. Tungrorum* and many others). Germanicus is an epithet given to a Roman who acquired distinction in Germany or by victory over Germans. *Equites Bithyni* (Juvenal vii. 14) means Bithynians who have become Roman Equites (so *eques Asianus*); but *eques Bithynicus*, *Asiaticus*, would mean a Roman knight resident in (or closely connected with) Bithynia or Asia. Λακωνική (γῆ) means the whole land possessed by the Lacedaemonians, which included at one time all Messenia, whereas Λακωνία in the strictest sense is a narrower country distinguished from Messenia.

In ancient usage the primary idea is the people: from the name of the people is derived that of the country: from the name of the country or people is formed the adjective in -ικός or -ιακός, belonging to, attached to, characteristic of the country or the people. The exceptions are not numerous and really illustrate the nature of the general principle.³

³ Latium (its origin is unknown, but the country in its earliest known form was a religious confederacy of separate states, worshipping Jupiter Latialis): Aegyptus, Aegyptii,

Daci or Dacae, Dacia,¹ Dacicus: Umbri, Umbria: and so on. The country acquires its name only when it rises to be a political fact. There are many tribes from which no name of a country was ever formed, because their country never acquired a political unity and character, *e.g.* Ituraei (with adj. Ituraeus), a nomad tribe, Danai, etc.

It must of course be fully admitted that, as time passed, delicacy in the use of this class of adjectives was lost, and distinctions were confused and obliterated; but this was the idiom and the original force. The proper geographical use of this class of names would repay careful study.²

Now, why does not Luke employ the name Galatia, as Paul does? If he had said simply that Antioch and the other cities were cities of Galatia, no difficulty would have been felt. Luke, however, did not write to convince North-Galatian theorists, though Professor A. Steinmann is given to arguing that because the name which Luke uses is not patently inconsistent in his judgment with the North-Galatian theory, therefore the South-Galatian theory is false. Luke had a clear reason for every geographical term that he uses. He did not speak, *e.g.* of Γαλατική ἐπαρχία, which was far too wide for his purpose, being used for the whole province by the Iconian contemporaries of Paul, whereas his story moved in two regions of the province. Moreover, he would have shrunk from using such a word as Aegyptiacus (the country stood as a power unified from different peoples at the beginning of history): and so on. The character of these is instructive.

¹ Dacia is hardly used except as the Roman province: it had no unified existence, but was a mere set of peoples—Dacica rura—until the Romans gave it character and unity.

² It is remarkable how often even the most accurate and distinguished of scholars (such as Blass) go wrong in geographical terms. On Asiaticus, etc., see Boot on Cicero, *Att.* i. 17. 9, xi. 14. 1; Ellendt on Cic. *de Orat.*, ii. p. 372. Cicero never used Asianus, evidently regarding it as exotic and non-Latin.

ἐπαρχία, which is not in accord with his style, and became usual only at a later date in this sense.

Luke seems obscure to the moderns only because he is so full of meaning, and scholars who have no knowledge of provincial constitution and have never dreamed that Paul regarded it, find Luke unintelligible because they have not studied to comprehend him. One would not demand that every Biblical scholar should familiarize himself with the constitution of the provinces in the East; but it is urgently needed that they should understand how complicated and difficult that subject is, and should at least know all that is to be known about the province Galatia before deciding the general questions which depend on a knowledge of its constitution.

The western region Luke first introduces in an elaborate narrative: it was the first-fruits of the Gentiles. Then on the second journey he calls it 'the region of Phrygia, which is also Galatic (*i.e.* part of the Galatic province)'; and on the third journey he names it simply Phrygia (or the Phrygian region: both are possible, and both come to the same result.³) It would not have been intelligible if Luke had at first used the simple name Phrygia without defining it. The obvious meaning which that name would have conveyed to any reader was Great Phrygia, which was part of the province Asia. It was necessary to guard against this misconception; and Luke does so in the first journey by a detailed account of localities, and in the second journey by stating the relation of Phrygia to the Galatic province. Only on the third journey, when all misconception seemed to him to have been obviated by the previous narrative, does he use (like Pliny, etc.) the simple name Phrygia; yet some modern scholars resolutely declare that Phrygia must mean the Great Phrygia of the Province Asia and nothing else.

³ My own opinion is that Luke meant 'the Phrygian Region'; but this is indifferent.

Contributions and Comments.

Acts xv. 3 and the Early Date of Galatians.

IN the July issue of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, Mr. Emmet, who has been for some years a consistent advocate of a pre-conciliar date for Galatians, seeks

to weaken the force of my objection to that date based on Ac 15³ (THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, May 1913) on the ground that it is 'an argument from silence.' With all due respect to Mr. Emmet I must demur to that statement. If the defection of the Galatian Churches was actually in progress when

St. Paul was making his way from Antioch to Jerusalem, St. Luke must be charged not with simply withholding information bearing directly upon the issue in Ac 15, but with giving an entirely wrong impression of the situation in Galatia, which is quite another thing. If we had found no reference to Galatian affairs in Ac 15, much might be said in favour of Mr. Emmet's contention; but inasmuch as there is an allusion in the chapter, and that of the most definite character, implying at the very least a satisfactory outlook in Galatia, it is difficult to see where St. Luke's 'silence' comes in. If the Galatians were in a state of open revolt against St. Paul's teaching and authority before the events recorded in Ac 15³ took place, as the early date of the Epistle demands, then St. Luke is only 'silent' when he is faced with a disagreeable situation, and can be expressive enough when it comes to recording facts that suit his own purpose. Now this means nothing less than a return to the old Tübingen position, which saw in Acts a mere 'tendency' document in which every difficulty was smoothed over and every divergence and want of success ignored in the interests of a particular theory.

Mr. Emmet also contends that the difficulty caused by St. Luke's silence as to the events presupposed by the Galatian letter is as great whether we consider it to have been written before or after the events narrated in Ac 15. Here again I must presume to differ from him. If we date the Epistle after the visit related in Ac 16¹⁻⁵, thus giving to το πρότερον in Gal 4¹³ its normal significance, the only reference to St. Paul's later relations with the Galatian Churches occurs in Ac 18²³.

Here the reference differs radically from that in Ac 15³, in being entirely non-committal. St. Luke's silence at this point is perfectly intelligible. He is describing the different stages of a rapid Pauline journey from Corinth to Antioch, and from Antioch back again to Ephesus, and there is no very strong reason why in a passage whose sole motive is to bridge over the period between the two ministries at Corinth and Ephesus respectively he should drag in the Judaistic controversy. The case of Ac 15³ stands on an absolutely different footing. Here, at any rate, St. Luke, as an honest and unbiassed historian, has every inducement to lead him to trace the true course of the Judaistic controversy. This identical chapter is devoted by him exclusively to the discussion of this particular

problem, and yet, if we are to accept this early date for Galatians, we are to believe that he keeps out of sight one of the most, if not the most, salient fact in connexion with the whole controversy, namely, the successful Judaistic mission in Galatia. And this is not all. Not only has he not a word to say of the troubles in Galatia, but he does actually insert a reference which, on any rational interpretation, implies that the quarrel which was shaking the Christian Church to its very foundations had in no way affected the success of the Apostle's work in these Churches. St. Luke, then, is not 'silent' as to the condition of affairs in Galatia, but, on the contrary, gives us the clearest intimation that the sky in that particular neighbourhood was still unclouded and that all was well with St. Paul's recent converts in Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra.

I have still some respect for St. Luke as a serious historian, and I prefer to believe that Ac 15³ is a true representation of things as they actually were, and not an attempt on his part to cry 'peace' where there was no 'peace,' as the theory which places the writing of Galatians before the events recorded in Ac 15 seems to imply.

MAURICE JONES.

Gosport.

The Value of the Subconscious.

I HAD no intention of any discourtesy or disrespect in my treatment of Dr. Sanday's views; and I can only express my regret that he seems to have found some ground of offence in my language. I introduced my criticism by expressing my high appreciation of him as a New Testament scholar, and indicated that only the greatness of the danger to modern Christology of his method, of which I am as deeply convinced after reading his reply to critics as I was before, induced me to criticise him at all. He charges me with exaggeration; but I cannot admit that my words 'relegate' and 'dismiss' are not fully justified by the explicit language of Dr. Sanday himself on page 159 of *Christologies Ancient and Modern*, in which he affirms that as 'the proper seat or *locus* of all divine indwelling, or divine action upon the human soul, is the subliminal consciousness,' so 'the same, or the corresponding, subliminal consciousness is the proper seat or *locus* of the Deity of the incarnate Christ.' The note does not substantially modify the position, but rather confirms it. 'Some stress is laid upon

"proper," for which I might almost have written "primary." I do not, of course, mean to deny that this divine element makes itself felt, and at times directly felt, in consciousness. But it seems *to come up* (as it were) unto consciousness, as if from some lower and deeper sphere.' Such a sentence as that on page 166: 'That which was divine in Christ was not nakedly exposed to the public gaze; neither was it so entirely withdrawn from outward view as to be wholly sunk and submerged in the darkness of the unconscious; but there was a sort of Jacob's ladder by which the divine forces stored up below found an outlet, as it were, to the upper air and the common theatre in which the life of mankind is enacted,' in its 'spatial and material metaphors' (to say nothing of the mixture of metaphors), obscures and does not illumine the subject. I have observed that the writers on Christology who have expressed themselves on

Dr. Sanday's position are not favourable. Dr. Mackintosh has criticised it adversely (*The Person of Jesus Christ*, pp. 488-489); so has Mr. Walker (*The Expositor*, vol. iv. pp. 120-137), one sentence from whom may be quoted. 'It is not with the unconscious (as subconscious) in us that the Divine superconscious is related, but with that conscious (and self-conscious) element in man which makes him personal and is most distinctive of him' (p. 131). Mr. Baillie maintains that nothing is 'to be gained by referring the indwelling of God in man to a subliminal stratum of mental life' (*THE EXPOSITORY TIMES*, vol. xxiv. p. 354). I notice that Dr. Sanday is now stating his position in a much more qualified way, and so is justifying the criticism to which his first statements were necessarily and legitimately subjected.

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Entre Nous.

The Great Text Commentary.

The best illustration this month has been found by the Rev. T. W. Murphy, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island.

Illustrations of the Great Text for October must be received by the 20th of August. The text is Lk 14¹⁸.

The Great Text for November is Ph 4¹³—'I can do all things in him that strengtheneth me.' A copy of Dean's *Visions and Revelations*, or of Coats's *Types of English Piety*, or of Clifford's *Gospel of Gladness*, will be given for the best illustration sent.

The Great Text for December is Ro 11³³—'O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and the knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgements, and his ways past tracing out!' A copy of Strahan's *The Book of Job Interpreted*, or Burkitt's *Gospel History and its Transmission*, will be given for the best illustration sent.

The Great Text for January is Ac 5³¹—'Him did God exalt with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel, and

remission of sins.' A copy of Briggs' *The Fundamental Christian Faith*, or of Loofs' *What is the Truth about Jesus Christ*, will be given for the best illustration sent.

The Great Text for February is Ac 3⁶—'But Peter said, Silver and gold have I none; but what I have, that give I thee. In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, walk.' A copy of the first volume of the *Greater Men and Women of the Bible*, or of Sanday's *Outlines of the Life of Christ*, will be given for the best illustration sent.

Those who send illustrations should at the same time name the books they wish sent them if successful. More than one illustration may be sent by one person for the same text. Illustrations to be sent to the Editor, Kings Gate, Aberdeen, Scotland.

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